



The Antiquary.



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The Walls of Chester.

By C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.

N THE Antiquary of the past year, for February and June, I have given my confirmed opinion on the Roman masonry of the north wall of Chester; and I have explained why, in my view, and also in that of my friend and colleague, M. H. Schuermans, of Liège, we believe it of comparatively late instead of early origin, as I once imagined. Yet, as the controversy is still maintained, and as the Jacobean theory is not abandoned, but supported by an archaeological institution of eminence,* I shall endeavour to emphasize what I have written—perhaps too briefly. When the opinions of individuals are endorsed by a society established for the encouragement of antiquarian researches, they are supposed to be conclusive and just. In this case, however, I affirm they cannot be accepted as valid; and they are opposed by another society† of equal respectability, which, many years since, had sanctioned my opinion after a full reconsideration, and now pronounces it to be quite correct.

Early writers have been referred to by the Jacobean theorists as supporting their notions; among them Pennant. But this author is referred to by Dr. Brushfield‡ as

* See *The Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, vol. xliv., No. 173, 1887. Mr. Shrubsole, in a paper "On the Age of the City Walls of Chester," writes: "If I am required to state the age of the older portions of the existing wall, I know of nothing dating further back than the reigns of James I. and Charles I."

† See *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1887.

‡ *Journal of the Chester Archaeological, etc., Society*, 1869.

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opposing the idea of an extension of the walls in Saxon times, as has been also so confidently asserted. Pennant writes: "I cannot discover any vestige of the original walls, such as those which are said to have been restored by the warlike *Ethelfleda*. I would not willingly detract from the lady's merit; but I must deny her that of being the foundress of the fortifications, and enlarging the city beyond the *Roman* precincts. The form at present is so entirely *Roman*, that any addition she could make would have destroyed the peculiar figure that wise people always preserved in their stations or castrametations, wheresoever the nature of the ground would permit."*

Dr. Brushfield, in an admirable and almost exhaustive paper on the "Roman Remains of Chester,"† writes as follows: "When we turn our attention to the Roman remains of Chester, we at once observe a striking difference in the masonry compared with that I have just described (London, Richborough, etc.), the bonding courses of tiles being wholly absent. In those portions of the City walls which the Rev. W. H. Massie was the first to point out as being Roman, we find that the stones are large and massive, are regularly about a foot deep, and usually twice as long as they are broad, the longest face being five feet, and the shortest one foot ten inches, bonded by the longest side sometimes being presented as the face, and at other parts imbedded in the thickness of the walls. The measurements just mentioned have been recently taken; and, at the same time, the moulding of the cornice was accurately copied. Another peculiarity is the circumstance that these stones have not been set in mortar; at all events, no traces of any can be discovered. A parallel instance exists at Rome. The absence of bonding material is not confined to Chester, the walls of *Isurium* having been similarly constructed. It is not a little singular that whilst at Richborough and Lymne the bonding layers were common, at Reculver they were wholly absent."

Dr. Brushfield might have named many other Roman stations and towns in the walls of which tiles were not used, including

* *Tour in Wales*, vol. i., p. 154.

† *Journal of the Chester Society* for 1869, p. 42.

Caerwent and Lincoln; the Great Roman Wall he refers to; and its numerous stations can be added. For other sensible remarks on the Chester walls, I refer to the paper itself; while I make a few remarks on *Isurium*, well known to Dr. Brushfield, but not once named by any one of the Jacobean theorists. We must believe that they were quite ignorant of it.

Isurium, Aldborough, occurs in the second *Iter* of Antoninus, between *Cataractonum* and *Eboracum*; and in the same position in the fifth *Iter*, in which it is styled *Isurium Brigantum*, indicating its being the chief town of the extensive tract occupied by the Brigantes. Mr. Ecroyd Smith, who superintended excavations on its site, states* that "the *castrum* was rather more than a mile

times there is a mixed style, of which Pevensey (*Anderida*), in Sussex, may be cited. While in parts the facing-stones, of small size, are divided by courses of tiles, in other portions they are entirely wanting. This is the construction for a long length on the north-western side,* which is as follows:

Two feet boulders and flints.

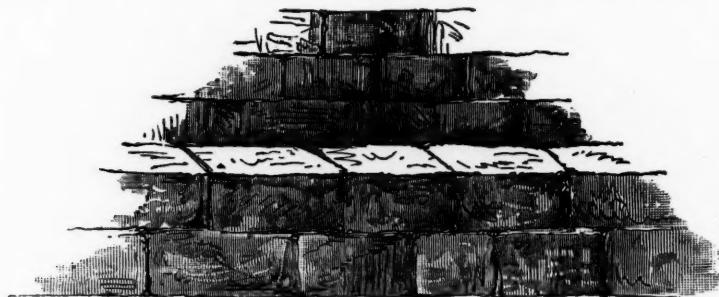
Two rows large stones, the upper projecting slightly over the lower.

Twelve rows of small facing-stones.

One row of thin flag-stones.

Thirty to forty rows of small facing-stones extending to the top.

The discoveries recently made in the interior of the north wall of Chester compel me to change my opinion as to its date. When I saw it with the Rev. W. H. Massie,



INTERIOR OF WALL AT ALDBOROUGH.

and a half in compass, the walls having been computed to measure 2,500 yards in circuit; and they vary from eleven to sixteen feet in thickness, enclosing an area of sixty acres." A portion of one of the walls, from an extended view on the interior, is given in the subjoined cut, to show the character of the construction in large stones without cement, and without any bonding courses of tiles.

The absence of courses of bonding tiles, once insisted on as evidence of non-Roman work in the Chester walls, is by no means unusual in the architecture of *castra*; neither in the structure of large stones, called by the French *grand appareil*. The Roman walls of Lincoln appear to have been void of tiles, as are those of Arles, in France. Some-

* Reliquiae Isurianæ: The Remains of the Roman *Isurium* Illustrated; fol., London and York, 1852.

and with the British Archaeological Association, I believed it to be of early origin. I found the masonry unlike most of the examples I was then acquainted with, and we then knew nothing of the building of Roman town walls with anterior monuments; but I never doubted for a moment (as has been asserted)† that the wall was substantially Roman.

* Not shown in my Report on Excavations at Pevensey, 1858.

† "The construction of the present walls (even when he thought them Roman) seems to have puzzled Mr. Roach Smith."

Roman Cheshire, by W. Thompson Watkin, 1886. Mr. Watkin fearing "he shall give a rude shock to many preconceived opinions, but *fortis est veritas*," is "compelled to speak straightforwardly on the subject." He says that the late Rev. W. H. Massie was the first to assert that the walls were Roman, and that I unfortunately adopted his view; as did Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Ayton, and Chester antiquaries

From the character of the sculptures which compose the interior of the lower part, the wall is demonstrated to be comparatively of late date, and not early. Here arises the question whether Chester had not an earlier wall; and I think the question may be answered in the affirmative. The discovery of sepulchral deposits within the now intramural district is a conclusive argument in favour of this opinion. I have adduced similar discoveries in London as proof of an enlargement of the city;* and this has

to examine engravings of give a clue to date; but I think we may safely place it not earlier than the reign of Severus, and probably as late as that of Diocletian and Maximian. The latter is suggested by M. Schuermans, from comparison with similar constructions in Belgium and France, coupled with historic evidence.

By the aid of Mr. Waller's practised hand and eye, I am able to give a faithful representation of a very interesting fragment of a Roman funereal sculpture discovered on the north



been confirmed by the structure of the later walls. Like those of Chester, they were based upon sculptures of various kinds: some monumental, some taken from public edifices. None of the Chester wall sculptures which I have had an opportunity

generally; and that "several excavations have been made with a view of deciding the character of the three portions of the wall named by Mr. C. Roach Smith as Roman, and the result appears to be a direct negative." I refer to the *Roman Cheshire* for his most unconvincing arguments, and to their refutation by Sir James A. Picton, Mr. Loftus Brock, Mr. J. Matthew Jones, and others.

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, 1859.

wall of Chester. It is drawn from an excellent photograph, kindly sent to me by Mr. Shrubsole. It is the sculpture adduced by Mr. Watkin as a convincing proof to him of the mediæval character of the wall. If, as he so persistently asserted, the figure to the left was intended for a priest in a *stola*, the evidence would have supported his theory of the post-Roman origin of the wall. But it is, in our opinion, undoubtedly Roman; and Roman I pronounced it a few days after its discovery, from a sketch sent me, I believe, by Mr. Brock. Had Mr. Watkin been conversant with similar Con-

tinental examples, he surely would never have committed himself to an error so glaring!

The figures are those of two young females. That to the left carries a mirror; that to the right holds in her left hand a small animal, a cat or a dog, probably the latter, to which her right hand is advanced. Though mutilated, portions of the animal are to be seen, quite palpable to Mr. Waller as well as to myself. The mirror is a well-known attribute of females; and a pet domestic animal, a cat, a dog, or a bird, is also often to be found portrayed as an accompaniment to the figures of young girls and boys in provincial sepulchral monuments. For instances at hand, I refer to figures 1 and 2 in Plate XVIII,* vol. v., of my *Collectanea Antiqua*; and to Plate XXIV. in vol. vii. of the same work, to which I may also refer for many examples of provincial costume totally differing from the classical.

Since writing the above, I have secured a copy of Mr. Earwaker's volume,† just published; and for the first time I am able to see copies of the inscriptions and sculptures, on which I make a few remarks, observing that Mr. Earwaker has done his work well and conscientiously.

These remains, though highly interesting, in one point of view are disappointing. They do not help us to decide on the date of the wall. The very inferior artistic merit of most of them does not, necessarily, prove them of late execution, for there were bad sculptors in early as well as in late times; but, from other evidence, they must be accepted as comparatively early.

They are mostly sepulchral monuments of soldiers of the Twentieth Legion and of its auxiliaries, showing how much the full com-

plement of the Legion was constructed by levies from various provinces. Most of these inscriptions are correctly read; but a few require correction, or at least suggestions. That of Plate VII. I should read as inscribed to *P. Rustius Crescentius*, by his heir, named *Gromia*. The defunct served for ten years, his age being thirty; and his position as "surveyor of the camp" is nowhere indicated.

Plate VIII.—*Cecilius Donatus*, who served twenty-six years, was not also named *Bessus*; but he came from the *Bessi* of Thrace, as seems clearly shown by the words *Bessus Nationis*.

Page 107.—I read *Q. Longinus Lætus* (of the tribe) *Pomentina*, a native of *Lucus*; but whether of *Lucus Augusti* (of which there was one in Gaul and one in Spain), or of *Lucus Asturum*, is left to conjecture.

Plate XII.—A tombstone of *Hermagoras*, as stated. I should read it *Herma Cor (nicularis)*; and this reading is supported by the *cornu* held in his hands as emblem of his rank.

Plate VI.—A representation of the two female figures, incorrectly described as "A Roman matron and her attendant." The engraving will, however, help Mr. Cox to correct his impression that the figure to the right does not hold a small animal.

Plate II., Fig. 1., may be referred to for the emblems of a bird and ears of corn, correctly described by Mr. Earwaker; and also for the costume of the two female figures.

The frequent occurrence of the death-bed scene upon the Chester monuments is only remarkable for a prevailing local fashion, such as varies both in ancient and modern cemeteries.



The Standard-Bearer of Charles I.



EW noble names have been more connected with the history of the county of Buckinghamshire than that of Verney. From the middle of the fifteenth century the family have resided at Claydon House, in the parish of

* I must give Mr. E. W. Cox the benefit of his doubts. In the December number of *The Antiquary* he states that "not one of the London gentlemen who have pronounced so decidedly on the origin of this stone, have looked on it with sufficient care to find that the object they call an animal is the perfectly distinct left hand of the figure; and what they suppose to be the legs of the animal are the four fingers." We do not confound the fingers with the animal, the traces of which are above the hand which holds it.

† *The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester.* By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. Manchester: A. Ireland and Co., 1888.

Middle Claydon. They have sent representatives to Parliament for the county, and for five of its boroughs—Aylesbury, Wendover, Buckingham, Wycombe, and Amerham, at different times—from 1552 to the present time. In the reign of James I., A.D. 1623, Sir Edmund Verney held the post of standard-bearer to that monarch, and was at the same time member for the borough of Buckingham. A portrait, by an unknown artist, is preserved at Claydon of this worthy. It is a half-length, with gold-laced doublet, and ruff and chain. There is at the same most interesting house a portrait of another Sir Edmund, son of the former. It is one of those life-like representations, stamped with the witchery of Vandye's genius. It is a half-length. The knight is habited in armour, a field-marshal's bâton is in his right hand, and beside the picture is a portion of the staff of the royal standard. There is also another but inferior portrait of the same true-hearted loyalist.* Such a man as the standard-bearer of Charles I. deserves special consideration. He was one of the bravest, brightest, and best of the cavaliers attached to the fortunes of the unfortunate monarch. He was a man who never wavered in his loyalty. He was true to the last, and had his life been spared, would have followed his royal master in every one of his well-fought fields, whether they ended in victory or in disastrous defeat.

The history of his life is indeed a part of the history of his country. The refusal of the Parliament convened to meet at Oxford to grant the King supplies, and the subsequent levy of ship-money, together with the raising of money without the authority of Parliament by the King, and his declining to assent to the Petition of Right, constituted sufficient friction between the two opposing parties to bring about the horrors and disturbances of the Civil War. There came a time when the King on the one side, and the Parliament on the other, put forth manifestos which increased the general indications of diverging policy. Levees of men were raised and arms collected. Those who followed the fortunes of the King were called Cavaliers, and their opponents Roundheads.

* These pictures were exhibited at the first special Exhibition of National Portraits, held at South Kensington, April, 1866.

How lamentable was the condition of affairs may be ascertained from a passage in the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, where, in bewailing the death of Viscount Falkland, "a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge," he goes on to declare, "that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity." It has been supposed that Lord Falkland framed one of the earliest definitions of the Constitution.

Tidings having reached the King that the army of the Parliament was continually receiving supplies and adherents from London, he left Shrewsbury, intending to proceed towards the capital, and there give them battle. The troops of the Earl of Essex advanced from Kineton, in the county of Warwickshire, when the Royalists lay at Banbury in Oxfordshire. They met at Edge Hill, a lofty eminence overlooking the district where Stratford, Warwick and Coventry are to be seen, with the Malvern and Cotswold Hills in the distance. The fight commenced with a singular incident. Sir Faithful Fortescue was with his troop in the Parliamentary army; but when the King's forces approached, he ordered all his men to fire their pistols in the ground, and placed himself under the orders of Prince Rupert. The latter charged the enemy with the greatest impetuosity, so that their cavalry could not withstand the shock, and incontinently fled. We learn that "in this battell, Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the Horse, Lord Wilmott the left, and the Lord Digby commanded one reserve of Horse, and the Lord Byron the other." Thus Prince Rupert entirely routed the left wing of Essex's horse, whilst Lord Wilmott committed the error of pursuing the enemy. By this means the King and the foot soldiers were left, and barely escaped being surrounded. The uncertainty as to which side had gained the day lasted till the following morning. Sir Philip Warwick, a faithful adherent of the King, says, "This was our first and great military misadventure, for Essex by his reserves of Horse falling on the King's Foot prest on them so hard, that had not some of our Horse returned in some

season unto the relief of our foot, wee had certainly lost the day, which all circumstances considered, wee as certainly won."* Some historians would regard the result of this contest as a drawn battle. It was to be lamented that Prince Rupert could not practise more caution in his several engagements. He was courageous, bold, and unflinching, but rash to a degree. Hence tactics were adopted utterly contrary to all the discipline of war. Good fortune certainly waited on the King at Edge Hill, for had the Parliamentary army displayed the same amount of dash as their adversaries, it would have gone hard with him on that memorable 23rd of October, 1642. As it was, King Charles had to deplore the loss of the Earl of Lindsey and his son; also his gallant and chivalrous standard-bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, who fell in the heat of the action, covered with glory and honour. He had carried the standard in 1639 against the Scots and at Nottingham. He had spoken of the king in these words: "I have eaten the king's bread and served him now thirty years, and I will not do so base a thing as to distrust him."† So, too, he said, "That by the grace of God, they that would wrest that standard from his hand must first wrest his soul from his body." He charged with it among the thickest of the enemy, was surrounded, but was offered his life if he would surrender the standard. He rejected, and fell slain whilst grasping the standard. His body was never found, but a ring with the portrait of the king, stated to have been given to Sir Edmund by his royal master, was taken from his hand after the battle, and was an object of great curiosity when shown in London in 1862.‡ There are two places where the bodies of the dead armies are stated to have been buried, and in one of these all that was left of Sir Edmund Verney must, in all probability, have been put. Many conflicting accounts of the number of combatants engaged in this battle

* *Memoires by Sir Philip Warwick, Knight of the reigne of King Charles the First.* London: printed for Ri Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1701.

† Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 525.

‡ It was exhibited in June, 1862, at the special Exhibition of Works of Art at the South Kensington Museum.

who lost their lives have been published, but it is not possible to arrive at a just conclusion in the matter. A difficulty naturally arises when one historian gives five thousand men and another thirteen hundred. One thing is certain, there was no greater hero present than the loyal and courageous Sir Edmund Verney. He went into the thick of the fight with every sinew strung to accept the challenge of the king's enemy;

As it had been

A fair invitement to a solemn feast,
And not a combat to conclude with death,
He cheerfully embraced it.*

We learn from Grose that "carrying a banner or standard in the day of battle was always considered as a post of honour; and in our histories we frequently meet with several instances of persons rewarded with a pension for valiantly performing that duty." In the reign of Edward III., a king's writ was issued to the treasurer of the exchequer, directing the payment of two hundred marks for life to Guido de Bryan for his gallant behaviour in the last battle against the French near Calais, and for his prudent bearing of the standard there against the said enemies, and there strenuously, powerfully, and erectly sustaining it. Altogether otherwise was the fate of Henry de Essex, standard-bearer to Henry II. This unfortunate soldier, being convicted of cowardice, was deprived of his lands, shorne, and made prisoner for life as a monk in the Abbey of Reading. The duty of holding fast to the standard was impressed at all times and places on those selected for so high an office. Every officer was forewarned that he should rather lose his life on the field of battle than let the enemy take from him so precious a charge. This national banner has its place in the centre of the first rank of a squadron of horse. The offices of castilian and standard-bearer of London were associated in the person of Robert Fitzwalter, a descendant of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, upon whose grandson Henry I. bestowed Baynard Castle. This Fitzwalter, being a thorough adherent of all the laws of chivalry, made a declaration in 1303 before the then Lord Mayor, John Blondon. He therein states that "in time of warre he, the

* Massinger. *The Unnatural Combat*, Act ii., Scene i.

sayd Robert and his heyers, ought to serve the citie in manner as followeth;" that is, "the sayd Robert ought to come, he being the twentieth man of armes, on horsebacke, covered with cloth or armour, under the great west doore of Saint Paul, with his banner displayed before him of his armes. At the door of the cathedral the mayor, with the aldermen and sheriffs, shall present their standard-bearer with the banner of the city, having upon it the image of St. Paul; and the standard-bearer, on receiving the same, shall have given him twenty pounds sterleng money, also a horse worth twenty pounds. Then he shall ride to Aldgate, to the priorie of the Trinitie, and make such arrangements as shall be deemed to be necessary for the safe keeping of the citie." In time of peace, a different order of action is to be pursued. Thus it will be seen that the post so bravely filled by Sir Edmund Verney, in after days of internal dissension, was considered to be one of the highest honour and distinction even among the citizens of the great metropolis.

Although Sir Edmund Verney was denied the rites of sepulture through untoward fate, yet his family were not unmindful of him, and erected a memorial to his honour in the retired little church at Middle Claydon. This edifice is situate close to the mansion in the park, and is literally embowered in trees. Entering it, by a flight of stone steps, through the priest's door on the north side of the chancel, the monument confronts you. Above this door there is the following inscription : " Rogerus Giffard, et Maria uxor ejus hanc cancellum fieri fererunt año Dni 1519." On the floor of the chancel is an altar tomb of alabaster, having upon it the recumbent effigy of a lady richly habited. The hands are uplifted palm to palm, while the head rests on a pillow. At the feet is a small dog. The outer robe is kept in its place by a peculiar and skilful arrangement. On shields are the arms of the Giffards. The date 1539, and the name of Giffard, can yet be traced as part of an inscription round the sides. This is the remains of a very elegant and graceful piece of sculpture.* The ceiling of the chancel is coved, and is painted in a floriated pattern with gold stars.

* The poor of the parishes of East, Middle, and Steeple Claydon enjoy a charity called Lady Giffard's Charity.

The monument to the royal standard-bearer is over against the wall, in the chancel. The base is composed of pillars of black marble, with capitals of alabaster. On a pediment are the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity. The word "Resurgam" occurs on the plinth of a large vase of jasper. An inscription thus records the name and fame of the departed officer :

" Sacred to the Memory of the ever honoured Sir Edmund Verney, who was K^t Marshall 18 yeares, and Standard Bearer to Charles y^e first in that memorable Battayle of Edge Hill, where he was slayne on the 23 of October, 1642. Being then in the two and fiftieth yeare of his age. And in Honour of Dame Margaret, his wife, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Denton, of Helleston, K^t, by whome hee had Six Sonnes and six daughters. She dyed at London on y^e 5th, and was buried here on y^e 7th of April, 1641, in the 41 yeare of her age."

Underneath this is a coat-of-arms. Then may be read further : " Also to the perpetual honour and memory of that most excellent and incomparable Person Dame Mary, sole daughter and heire of John Blacknall of Abingdon, in the County of Berks, Esq., and wife of Sir Ralph Verney, eldest sonn of the said S^r Edmund and Dame Margaret, by whome she had three sonnes and three daughters, whereof only Edmund and John are liveing. She deceased at Blois, in France, on the 10th day of May, 1650, being about the age of 34 years, and was here interred on the 19th of November following, where her said husband (at whose charge, and by whose appointment this Monument was erected) intends to bee buried."

On the sides of the inscription are four niches, each having a bust. One of these represents the standard-bearer with flowing hair. He is in armour, and the pauldrons are shown to be very depressed in shape.

On the opposite side is a memorial to the Hon. Col. Henry Verney, fifth son of Sir Edmund, erected by his sister Penelope, first married to John Denton, of Fawles, Oxford, then to S^r John Osborne, K^t, an Irish gentleman. There are many other monuments to members of the Verney family, some of recent date.

Before leaving the church the antiquary will pause to note the very fine brass on the

floor of the nave, and almost under the chancel arch. It consists of two very large effigies of Roger Giffard, and Mary, his wiffe, both five feet in height. He is dressed in plate armour, and the lady has a pointed head-dress, and a flowing robe with large ermine sleeves.* At the feet are eleven sons, who are dressed in gowns, and seven daughters who wear veils and hoods. All these are as a matter of course miniature figures.

Roger Giffard died in 1542.† There is a small brass near, with the words "Orate pro anima Isabella Giffard 9^e obiit 1523." There is also a brass plate inserted in a slab, with the arms of Giffard on a shield and an effigy of Alexander Anne, presbyter, who died in 1526. The figure has a chalice, and is clothed in priestly vestments, with a label proceeding from the mouth, bearing the words, "Miserere mei, Deus."‡

The eldest son of the standard-bearer, Sir Ralph Verney, M.P. for Aylesbury, wrote proceedings during the sitting of the Long Parliament in the House of Commons. These interesting papers were discovered by Mr. Thompson Cooper, of Cambridge, and Mr. Bruce edited them for the Camden Society in 1845. Among the earliest notes is, "The Capuchin House to be Dissolved." The Capuchins were under the protection of Queen Henrietta Maria, and the Commons requested the French Ambassador to send them away. Much information concerning the Verneys is to be found in these documents, which were declared by Mr. Hallam to be of the greatest historical value. Sir Ralph Verney was succeeded by John Verney, his second but eldest surviving son, who was created Baron Verney of Fermanagh, on the 16th June, 1703. One member of this family, having the same Christian name as his illustrious descendant, was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1577, and dying in 1599, was buried in Albury in that county. An earlier Sir Ralph was Lord Mayor and member for London towards the middle of the fifteenth century. There is a portrait by

* Lipscombe gives plates of these brasses in his *History of Buckinghamshire*.

† Lipscombe thinks the mansion at Middle Claydon was built by this gentleman or his son Sir George Giffard.

‡ Haines, in his work on Brasses, states that it was customary for priests to display the armorial bearings of their patrons.

Cornelius Jansen of Sir Ralph, the son of the standard-bearer. It is a bust, with lace falling ruff, black dress, showing left hand gloved.*

It remains to mention an old saying in the county of Buckinghamshire, that our hero the standard-bearer to King Charles was "neither born nor buried." This double notion took its origin from a tradition that he was brought into the world by the Cæsarean operation, and to the fact that, as has been previously related, his body not having been discovered after the fatal battle of Edge-Hill, he was consequently never properly interred.† Honourable sepulture is denied to no one, but when in the chapter of accidents a man's body is left to the consequences of chance, what does it concern us when the glory of his life never dies, but lives superior to all fate? Wisely says Sir Thomas Browne, the famous physician of Norwich, in his dedication to the "Hydriotaphsu, Urn Burial:" "When the funeral pyre was out, and the last valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment on their ashes, and having no old experience of the duration of their reliques, held no opinion of such after-considerations." The greatness of a man's life offers no practical hindrances to our realization of his worthiness when his life is over. "It is natural," says Ralph Waldo Emerson, "to believe in great men." And again, "The search after the great is the dream of youth, and the most serious occupation of manhood." Many pages in our great English history teem with acts of heroism. It seems that we are not poor in such particular richness of character. So we come to consider the life and death of Sir Edmund Verney as an example for all time. Of him may be said, as was told of a great soldier in our own age—

Yea, let all good things await
Him who cared not to be great,
But as he saves or serves the State
Not once or twice in our rough island story,
The path of duty was the way to glory.‡

* This picture was exhibited in April, 1866, among the national portraits on loan at South Kensington.

† See section 32 on Rings, by Edmund Waterton, F.S.A., p. 637, in *Special Catalogue of Works of Art*, exhibited June, 1862.

‡ Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington, by Tennyson.

It has appeared suitable and just that a distinctive tribute, however humble it may be, should be rendered to the memory of the great and brave standard-bearer of Charles I.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



The Highlands.

HERE they are before us, barren yet fruitful, bare yet beautiful, rugged domes and smooth undulations, long ridges and isolated hills, pinnacles and precipices, green slopes and dark ravines, forests and bogs, rocks and grasses, sedges and ferns—variety of feature all round. Silver veins gliding down the slopes, tumbling down the steeps, running into the little streams and large rivers; here a deep glen sends up its spray to glitter in the sunshine, with its tiny rainbow from the roaring waterfall below, and there a placid loch spreads its silver sheen, reflecting the green woods and the dark rocks in the faithful mirror. Over all this rocky region a great variety of foliage charms the eye; flowers and mosses of many kinds flourish in the shade or the sunshine, on the hard rock or the moist swamp. Nature is very lavish, and squanders her gifts where they are received—in river beds, all up the broken glens, beneath the constant spray, out in the sunlight, and in dark crevices; up to the top of the highest mountains her gifts are found, rare and beautiful; pearls in the rivers, gems on the mountains. There is nothing ugly in the natural features of the Highlands, where the purple heather gives a glow of warmth to the waning season of the year.

All the region is full of life. Red deer and roe may be seen by any wanderer who has eyes to see: the horns of a stag may move amidst the fern; the timid roe may steal down to drink at the foaming stream, while the fisherman throws his silent fly upon the eddy before it, and the roe starts back frightened at the plunge of the spotted trout. High up in the streams, in lakes, and in rivers, the lordly salmon finds his way from the distant sea, dashing up the rapids, springing up the falls, till his sandy bed is found far away in a quiet vale; there he digs the cradle for their

young—there those tiny creatures find their food in the early spring as it is washed down from the grassy slopes, from the decomposing herbage, or in living creatures invisible to any eyes but their own. On river bank, or sandy hill, amidst the rocks and woods, the irrepressible rabbit exhibits his flicking tail. Hares leave their runs upon the grass, and hide secure for a season amidst the rocks, alike in colour to themselves. Foxes steal silently as evening falls from woodlands or from crags; their quiet bark may be heard by salmon fishers in early spring, and the trees near the gamekeepers' lodges tell of the trapping of the vermin so deadly to the wild progeny of the hills, as well as to the lambs of the farmers' flocks; on these trees also may be seen the remains of osprey, hawk and eagle, ravens, crows, magpies and jays, all enemies to game or fish; owls, of sorts, are hung up in these places, but as they do as much good as they do harm, their indiscriminate destruction is not so necessary. The hoot of the white or brown owl, as you float along on the loch beneath the rocks of a summer evening, tells you how birds converse at a distance without the telephone. An observer of nature can find plenty to think of in these charming highlands. Numbers of them wander here in summer time—artists, botanists, geologists and natural historians meet in hotels, hydropathic establishments, railways and steamboats, on mountain steeps, on windy lakes and spatey rivers; every condition of weather (and it does not often change from misty) has its note or its diary. I was looking at the strange washing away of the old red sandstone in a mountain glen, when another fisherman came by and said:

"What a pity it is so dry."

"Well," I replied, "if the river was not so low I could not see the strata of these rocks, know of their soft places, or tell how the changing eddies had worked their wills with the sandstone and the gneiss below."

The man's eyes had opened wider as I spoke. He observed:

"What a philosopher you are," and went on.

Here and there we fall in with photographers—amateurs with their new, neat apparatus; professionals with their larger and more travelled cases and tripods; all carry off the likeness of the scenes they love,

and the shop-windows of cities and villages are full of lovely views. Old ruins, curious bridges, trees, and crags rough and fantastic ; Rob Roy's cave and his wife's small grave ; ivy-covered castles, dismantled dungeons, with the niche in the wall for the criminal's head ; cemetery and palace, lakes and rivers—all contribute to the copious history of the region, encouraging art and satisfying curiosity.

Geologists are now endeavouring to unravel the "Secret of the Highlands." The subject is touched on by the *Saturday Review* of 13th October, 1888. The work done by the survey "is a contribution to science as valuable as it is interesting." The tale began long ago, when "probably no living creature existed on the earth." Then were laid "the foundations of the Highlands" in "coarse gneisses." These "probably were once molten masses—igneous rocks of varied chemical composition." In time these became consolidated, and various changes took place in them—thrustings and foldings of the "rock masses," with breakings and faultings. There were injections of igneous rock altering the conditions of the masses. Denudation followed, accumulations were made, and the older rocks were buried under their own debris. In this more changes took place, put down by the surveyors in three classes. "1st, Minor thrusts, by which lower beds are slipped over, and piled up on higher; 2nd, Major thrusts, which have driven the piled-up strata westwards along planes separating the displaced materials from the undisturbed strata; 3rd, Maximum thrusts, which bring up and drive westwards portions of the old archæan floor, with the palæozoic strata resting on it." This movement brought on complications in succession, and new structures; "granitoid rocks" were changed into flaggy or fissile schists, and "this flaggy structure" often "bears the most extraordinary resemblance to those resulting from the deposit of somewhat variable sediments," with sometimes "the same angle of inclination as the true stratification of the quartzites and limestones." All these changes seem "to have been completed before the rocks of the old sandstone were deposited," as in the lower parts of this group "fragments both of the olden and the new type of gneisses and schists" are found. There may be, says the

Review, "critics who will subject some of the less guarded statements to rigid scrutiny, and thus repress the exuberance of the new disciples." This may be a true prophecy.

It may be asked here, whether geologists delight more in destroying old than in making new structures? Laplace made a new theory at the end of last century; the groundwork of it is now nearly destroyed. Lyell made new theories of upheaval and sea-level, when some three-parts of this century had passed away; the foundations of these were undermined, and both will soon subside. Dr. Geikie has followed close on Sir Charles's school, and the Secret of the Highlands is tainted with his theory, as given in his "Geological Primer," 1876, p. 99: "Strange as it may seem to you, it is nevertheless true, that it is the land which rises, not the sea which sinks." In the third class above mentioned, the reviewer used the words "bring up." It will be shown presently that all the thrusts, the pilings-up, the contortions, fractures, foldings, and faultings alluded to were the results of subsidence; but before coming to this, we may touch briefly on other views of mountain building.

I take up the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for November, 1888. At p. 682 the secretary, Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield, a well-known traveller, mountain explorer, and a careful observer, writes of the Caucasus: "I seem to see in the mountain structure a series of primary parallel ridges and furrows," changed by natural forces, and sub-aerial denudation, "but still roughly recognisable." Then he asks, "How shall we account for occasional transverse ridges" and great splits in the crystalline rocks? He thinks they might "have been sawn out by water following its old channels through a slowly-rising ridge of later elevation." But, to account for certain gorges, "they require the exertion of a force similar in character to that which raised the chain, but acting at right angles to it." So then, by following this school of elevation, this clever traveller has got into a gorge that is to him a *cul-de-sac*. We will try to help him out of it by-and-by.

I now look at *Research* for September, October, and November, 1888. It is a journal of science, and gives "Theories of

Mountain Formation," by T. Mellard Reade, C.E., F.G.S., etc. The subject is not concluded, but there is enough to meet the object I have in view—that is, to show how far present theories of the general structure of mountains, and consequently of the Highlands, are from the truth; that is, if science can allow truth in the actions of nature. Mr. Reade alludes to several theories of structure, which he condemns, including the indefinite theory of Sir C. Lyell. At the end of his September article he shows that "most great ranges have a central core of gneissic and granitic rocks, forced up through the overlying sedimentaries, which are folded into loops between the intrusive tongues." He allows it, as "a universal fact, that strata which have been aqueously laid down in approximately horizontal positions are, in the mountain regions, thrown into folds, and sometimes bent, contorted, and twisted into the most extraordinary convolutions." This is done by pressure; but "much difference of opinion exists as to the origin of this pressure." "We must," says Mr. Reade, "seek for a deeper-seated force than that derivable from the secular contraction of the globe." Surely no source could be deeper. The increasing heat with depth is then shown to be felt in sediments to a great depth, and "heat expands" (October number). Then "10 miles in thickness of sediment would raise the temperature of the underlying rocks to 1,000°," and the "old and rigid foundation rocks are subjected to still greater stresses." But he has no "satisfactory data to go upon as regards cubical expansion." This means in rocks; but he has experimental data of linear expansion of iron and steel. These are homogeneous substances—the sedimentary deposits are, as Mr. Reade allows, heterogeneous; therefore there can be no analogy between the expansion of ordinary deposits and metal. Yet it is sought to be proved by this unconnected argument "that the most rigid rocks have been bent, folded, squeezed, lengthened, or thickened" by the imaginary expansion of sedimental heat. He then makes an exception for supposed igneous rocks, where "the yielding has been by shearing," and "enormous masses of rock have been bodily shifted along fault-planes," as lately described by

the Geological Survey of Scotland. Perhaps it will be time enough to consider this theory when, as Mr. Reade says, "we come to consider the actual structure of known mountain ranges," and how their "expansion by heat can account for their characteristic form and structure."

Mr. Reade has yet to learn that there is, or is not, a level of strain in the body of this earth. He knows that sediments are now, and always have been, formed from the materials on the surface of the earth; that similar weights are moved by similar forces; that these are always changing in strength, quality, and quantity; that like is deposited on like one day, and may be left elsewhere the next—so that we can agree with Mr. Reade in his conclusion, "We must look to another source than the contraction of the earth for the cause of mountain upheaval."

There is another cause for their building, very different from that suggested by Mr. Reade; and that cause will explain some of Mr. Reade's theories, and help Mr. Freshfield out of his *cul-de-sac*.

All over the surface of the Highlands, on slopes, on flat lands, in river-beds, we find broken masses of rock, worn boulders, pebbles, and sands. At the foot of the hills we find debris of sorts, all washed from the uplands. Far away down the vales, in narrow gorges, or in open estuaries, we find more waste from those upper regions. What is done to-day was done in all time—since evaporation took place, since dew fell upon dry land, or rain, hail or snow rested on its surface. Wherever water moves, it moves available matter with it; and in the uncounted time from the commencement of these labours, the uplands have contributed to fill up the areas between them and the retiring sea by their waters and the winds. By as much as has been taken to fill up these great spaces, by so much were the Highlands larger in height or breadth. From present hill-top to sea, most sedimentary deposits have been left stratified—that is, they were deposited by water, while some have been left unstratified by the winds and rivers.

A pamphlet was published last year by Mr. Forster, telegraph agent at Zante, showing how his seismic instruments told him of

shocks far away in the sea ; at the same time his cables refused to act, and their fractures indicated the sites of the shocks. Near these sites earthquakes took place, caused by the falling in of the sea-bed, by which the cables were buried and fractured. These subsidences are frequent in the Mediterranean, about Newfoundland, the west coast of South America, in the Indian Archipelago, and in the China Seas. Mr. Forster found that the sea had sunk, and the land had consequently grown. Sir Charles Lyell made the rise of land suit his foregone theory of upheaval. In addition to this new evidence from Mr. Forster, we have that of Dana and Darwin of sinking ocean-beds. Professor Geikie has vainly tried to prove that the parallel raised beaches found in many places have been upheaved from the lines on which the sea left them. He has, however, given facts to prove the actual sinking of the sea-bed, and the present position of the old beaches is thus accounted for. These local sinkings are always going on, and the ocean must have sunk from the banks and strata, which it left in unknown time, down to the present high-water level.

In this sinking of matter under the sea, it is not the rigid rock that is bent or tied up into loops, as so ingeniously supposed by those who follow the theory of a non-sinking sea and the upheaval of consolidated matter ; but it was the wet, soft, and plastic matter that underwent all those contortions, thrustings, squeezings, and foldings that have been looked at as so extraordinary by men who have put their own theories before nature's actions. As the sea subsided, these once flexible but adhesive rocks became hard, and hence the errors that have been current so long.

As geological surveyors are finding facts in the Highlands, so Mr. Freshfield has hinted at them in the Caucasus. As all mountains, except volcanic, have similar origins under different conditions of material and forces, I use his "ideas" of that region for the Highlands. Their origin was not necessarily "in the form of a gigantic smooth-sided bank or mound." Wherever there are irregularities of the sea-bed, there must be currents, eddies, and uncertain waves. As these forces placed varied matter in uncertain lines or areas, one

action was certain—heavy materials were deposited in moving water, light materials settled down in still water. The *Challenger* found this arrangement all round the world. The foundations of the Highlands were in undulations : currents swept over the high points, the lower were less disturbed ; the material conveyed by the water was deposited accordingly. When the sea retired, denudation took place ; the high, hard, heavy parts lost some ; the low, softer, lighter deposits lost more. All that was moved away has gone to fill up the region between the Highlands and the sea ; all that has not been moved may be seen in the old red sandstone, the clay, and mica slate, the scanty patches of limestone, and the more abundant granites and gneisses in patches from Cape Wrath to the Grampians. However soft these last may have been, there is no proof of a molten condition ; they were never "pushed up" by the contraction of a cooling globe through softer material, but other material settling down on these, may in places have exaggerated their undulations and squeezed softer muds into irregular shapes. Under these actions some of these beds have lost their stratification lines ; some never had them when deposited by floods in pockets, and some retain these lines to the present moment, though the magnifying glass is sometimes necessary to detect them. The ridges and furrows, as imagined by Mr. Freshfield, are thus accounted for by the manner of deposit and removal ; the furrows are the lovely vales, the ridges are the grand Highlands. This traveller, like others, has found clefts or splits in crystalline rocks ; when these materials were deposited on an insecure foundation, parts of them sunk down when they were no longer supported. He finds a difficulty in accounting for "crystalline gorges," and thinks "some force similar in character to that which raised the chain, but acting at right angles to it," is necessary. Mr. Freshfield is quite right, only he has not studied all the natural actions. Moving water laid down these materials ; they were heavy and adhesive ; they remained behind and give the watershed of to-day.

As soon as rain fell, denudation began ; the rocks were worn away, and slowly but surely were these deep gorges sculptured in lines often running at "right angles" to the hills. Mr. Freshfield seems to be fettered by the

school of upheaval and a non-sinking sea. It would be well if he or anyone else could explain why certain old sea-made banks or ridges, commonly called "raised beaches," have been theoretically upheaved, so as to retain their parallel distances over a space of a few hundred yards, and why there are not similar upheavals in our river channels that have been used for thousands of years over thousands of miles. There are buried river-beds, all due to loss of watershed, to absorption by sand, or earthquakes; but we have no new upheavals, and though Sir C. Lyell and Professor Geikie put down the land as "in the very act of rising," the evidence given by them only shows that lands are now "above their former level," the level being the sea. This has certainly subsided.

When geological history commences on a fiction, all the superstructure may fall away. The *Saturday Review* thinks the "exposition of the structure is, in the highest degree, creditable to the members of the geological survey;" yet their foundation rests on "probably." After a time these "probably molten masses" "became consolidated," and changes took place in them. "In the opinion of the surveyors, this was the result of mechanical disturbance." Mr. Foster has explained the mechanism, and I gave detail of it in *Sunlight* (Trübner and Co.) in 1887. There was no pushing up or upheaval; all was done by gravitation. We know of no cause for an imperceptible elevation of the solid land; but we do know a cause for the imperceptible sinking of the sea-level by the local sinkings of its bed. Hence the growth of dry land slowly and surely, and hence the hard remnants of the Highlands have been left where they are, as monuments of Nature's work in old time. All mountains, except the volcanic, have the same history. The highest is "29,000 feet," or $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles high (*Guyot*); the deepest sea is 27,452 feet (*Challenger Report*, No. 4).

The earth is said to be a solid body, yet, if it was laid down under water, as shown by the general stratification of its layers, there must have been inequalities on the surface, with soft regions here and hard there; the last remain, the first go on sinking, or vanishing; our coal seams show frequent subsidence, and frequent growths again; we do

not yet know the entire depths of these sunken forests; but we have hundreds of yards of ocean-laid deposits over them. As the original sea-bed sinks, inclines and undulations must be continued; as long as there are inclines, material will roll into them. The sea-level need not sink under the latter action, but it must sink under the former. Subsidence may not be so constant now as it once was, but it must go on, and the rivers will continue to carry to the sea some of the material gathered from the Highlands. The secret of their bedding is not satisfactorily explained, and science cannot find it till the fictions of a fire-world and a non-sinking sea are given up. "As old as the hills" is a trite saying, but the antiquary will find nothing older on the face of this earth; the fossils, that have been used as evidence of youth, are those that have been left by the retiring ocean, and are, therefore, witnesses of age.

H. P. MALET.



Recent Archæological Discoveries.

BY TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued.)



HE architectural discoveries on the Acropolis of Athens, interesting as they are, form only a portion of the results of the excavations. When Kimon undertook to rebuild the Temple of Athena on a larger scale, the necessary platform was obtained, as we have said, by the erection of containing walls and by filling up hollows. For this purpose were employed mutilated statues and pieces of stone and marble from the ruined buildings. When Perikles succeeded to power, the plans of Kimon were abandoned, and the drums of columns and other architectural members already prepared were employed partly in adding to the walls of the Acropolis, and partly in raising the ground within them to a still higher level. These successive strata are now removed, and from them have been recovered some dozen marble statues in comparatively good preservation, as well as

Ionic capitals and other worked stones. These capitals and the statues, with one exception, are richly coloured. The statues are of females, and though varying greatly in execution, and belonging no doubt to various periods and different schools,* they agree for the most part in attitude.

Almost every one held with one hand a fold of her dress, while the lower part of the other arm projected in front, and was formed of a separate piece of marble, bolted into a socket with a marble pin.

The marble, like many of the sculptors themselves, came from Paros, and it has been suggested that this fact prevented the use of larger blocks, owing to defective means of transport. Most of these statues have a bronze bar projecting from the top of the head. This was to support a disc (the origin of the *nimbus* of our saints), intended as a protection against rain or other damage, which the reader of Aristophanes will understand.†

The series may be studied, together with our old friend the "calf-bearer,"‡ in the collection of photographs published by Rhomaïdès Frères, under the title "Les Musées d'Athènes." The photographs are accompanied by an explanatory text in no fewer than four languages—Greek, French, German, and English. Much credit is due to Messrs. Rhomaïdès for their work, which reproduces with such fidelity both form and expression. In one point, however, it is necessarily deficient. It cannot give us an idea of the colouring, a most important item in the treatment of archaic art. The second part of the *Denkmäler* of the German Institute, lately issued, has supplied this want in the case of two of the most characteristic of the group. No. 1 not only presents to us a positively pleasing expression of countenance, but is adorned with a most elaborate attire, emphasized by ornamental borders which glow with brilliant hues.

* Mr. Ernest Gardner (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii. 177) assigns one of them to the School of Kalamis. As to the influence of the Chian School, see Winter in *Mitth. d. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1888.

† *Aves*, 1115.

‡ The base of this "Hermes Moschophoros" has recently been discovered, and also three stone statues of a still earlier style. See Winter in *Mitth. d. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1888.

Maeander and rosette, even after the lapse of some four-and-twenty centuries, testify to the love for gay colours that has always characterized the peoples of Southern Europe. No. 2, also published in the *Ephemeris Archæologique* for 1887, is one of the most interesting of these archaic *agalmata*, or dedicated images. It was discovered in the excavations of 1886, and is lithographed from the coloured drawing of M. Gilliéron. Of the three pieces into which it was broken, the lowest part, from the loins downwards, was first discovered, and compared to the stiff *Xoana*, or ancient wooden images of the gods. The head, found close by, was not at first supposed to belong to it; but on the discovery of the rest of the statue shortly afterwards, the connection of the three portions was established. The figure has been published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (viii. 1, p. 163), and elsewhere; but insufficiently, for the colours—bright green and red—are not given. It has been compared with the very ancient *agalma* from Delos, though evidently belonging to a much more advanced stage of art. The treatment of the drapery and the pose of the body are no doubt formal and stiff, yet the head and face of this statue are lifelike and natural. The smile is no longer forced, but really pleasing. It has been well called an archaic work of archaic art.

A question naturally arises: Who are these smiling ladies decked out so gaily, and treated with such public honours? Two answers have been proposed. If the numerous columns and bases with dedicatory inscriptions (as that of Nearchos) belong to the statues, Professor Carl Robert* holds that the goddess Athena herself is represented as Athena Ergane, without weapons; others view the figures as her priestesses.† We must bear in mind that the Greek *άγαλμα* was strictly something for the god to take pleasure in, and was applied as much to dedicated images of mortals as to those of the gods themselves. So the seated statue of Chares from Branchidæ declares itself an *agalma* of Apollo.

It is of course by no means unusual for

* *Hermes*, xxii. 135.

† See Studniczka, and also Winter, in *Jahrbuch d. deut. Inst.*, 1887, page 136, note 3, and page 220, note 16.

many images of one deity to be found in the same sanctuary. Yet in such a case one would look for greater uniformity of type. One would expect, too, something more in the way of attributes, though in very early figures—as the Athena in the Perseus Metope from Selinus—these are frequently wanting.*

While the specific attributes of the warlike Athena are thus lacking, we find few symbols of that great nature goddess, who plays so important a part in the oldest Greek religion. We must remember, moreover, the important position enjoyed by the priestesses of a tutelar divinity, as in the case of the priestess of Hera at Argos, or, indeed, the priestess of Athena at Athens itself in historical times. Again, looking to the parallel case of the Roman Vestals, whose images have been recently discovered, we are somewhat inclined to adopt the second of the alternative attributions.

No such difficulty can arise as to the bronze statuettes found on the Acropolis during the last two or three years. Four of them have been published by Studniczka in the *Ephemeris* for 1887. Found in the chaotic mass of materials heaped together in the time of Kimon, these bronzes bear marks of the fire with which Xerxes devastated Athens. Of three the bronze bases, with dedicatory inscriptions, have been recovered. They present the well-known type of Athena Promachos. Wrapped in the aegis, with Attic helm and lofty crest, the goddess throws the left leg forward, while with her right hand she wields a spear, and with her left a shield.

Much more remarkable is the bronze statuette of Athena found last year near the north wall of the Acropolis, opposite the northern entrance of the Erechtheum, and published by Staes in the same volume of the *Ephemeris*. It is formed in a singular manner of two plaques in low relief, welded together, and also fastened with studs.† It

* Two conspicuous instances of an unarmed Athena are quoted by Furtwängler (*Arch. Ztg.*, 1880, col. 202) from Attic vases. One is the Athena of the François vase; the other is on the archaic bowl from Egina, now in the Berlin Museum. On this the unarmed female in chiton and upper garment, and with the lower part of the right arm extended, is also determined as Athena by an inscription, the form of which (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ) points to an Attic artist.

† Sir Charles Newton, in a letter to the *Times* of

was originally gilded, and it bears traces of fire.

Another interesting work is the archaic bronze head of a man with pointed beard. The features wear a singularly life-like expression. The peculiar shape of the head and the treatment of the hair seem to prove that there was some covering. The eyes were inserted.

Among the marble fragments, a youthful head, from its resemblance to the Apollo of the western pediment at Olympia, has suggested the attribution of the sculptures in that pediment to an elder Alkamenes at the beginning of the fifth century.

In a third category, that of vases, much is to be learned from the successful labours of the Athenian archaeologists. Twenty years ago, we talked of the stele of Aristion as offering us the presentment of a "man of Marathon," i.e., of one living as late as B.C. 490. In much the same way the famous François vase was referred to the fifth century; whereas it is now admitted that both stele and vase must be thrown back at least into the sixth. Roughly speaking, we have been accustomed to date such works a hundred years too late. A fragment of a red-figured vase was found on the Acropolis a short time since lying at a great depth—in fact, immediately on the native rock. Beneath the surface of the Acropolis have now been found vase-fragments bearing such well-known names as Duris and Hieron. Unless, therefore, these fragments have filtered down through the soil, these artists must have flourished before B.C. 480, though no one would have ventured in former days to have assigned them such high antiquity.

Of the Piraeus, the walls have lately been to a considerable extent brought to light by excavations under Dörpfeld's superintendence.

Among the most important buildings must be placed the Neosoikoi, or ship-houses of Zea, where the triremes were repaired and kept ready for sea.

The inscriptions are curiously indicative of the cosmopolitan character of a Mediterranean port. The community of the

April 20th, 1877 (translated by Michaelis, *Ztsft. f. bild. Kunst*, 1877, [510]) mentions small reliefs found at Mykenæ, which were made in pairs to be fastened together.

Sidonians decree a wreath of gold to Shemábal or Diopeithes, the inscription being in Phoenician and Greek. In the Piræus are found records of the trade in corn, which was then, as now, largely exported from Southern Russia.*

At Karditza, in Boeotia, the French School, under M. Holleaux, has been fortunate in its excavation of the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos. Among the numerous figures of Apollo, one head is especially deserving of attention. The eye has a peculiar shape, like a gable (*giebelförmig* is the German expression), such as is to be found on vases from Thera and Melos. Mr. Ernest Gardner† finds a resemblance to this head in some of the gold masks from Mykenæ.

We must now turn southwards, over the stepping-stones of the *Aegean*, passing Delos, where the French have gathered plentiful material for the epigraphist and the historian of art.

To Cyprus public attention was not long since directed, mainly by the handsome publications of General di Cesnola, whose large collection of Cyprian antiquities has found a home beyond the Atlantic. Safer guides, however, are Ohnfalsch-Richter and Ferdinand Dünmler, the result of whose investigations may be thus briefly stated: The oldest burying-places of Cyprus carry us back to a time even anterior to the possession of the island by the Phoenicians. The objects discovered, though showing progress as compared with those obtained at Hissarlik, and possibly belonging to a later date, yet resemble them closely, and may be referred to a kindred period.

The English occupation of Cyprus has afforded an opportunity of which our scholars have not failed to avail themselves. About thirty perforated monoliths of limestone have been discovered by Messrs. Guillemard and Hogarth, in proximity to cisterns, millstones, and fragments of a coarse kind of jar, such as was used for oil. Looking to this combination, they are inclined to view these monoliths, not as Phoenician, but Roman, and as forming part of the olive-press. It is not surprising that these hoary monsters should feed the superstition of Cypriotes. "Children

* E.g., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 101.

† *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VIII., i, p. 185.

suffering from illness are passed through the holes; and wayfarers toss a pebble on the top, auguring good fortune should it lodge there."* Through the co-operation of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the British School of Archæology at Athens, and the Institute of British Architects, traces of the famous Temple of Aphrodite, at Paphos, have been brought to light, though it is said that they are too meagre to admit of a fully satisfactory reconstruction. In a report laid before the subscribers to the Cyprus Exploration Fund, Mr. Elsey Smith, the young architect attached to the expedition, gives some interesting details as to the plan and its modifications in Roman times. A broad passage from east to west, flanked by chambers of early date, seems to correspond with representations of the temple on coins of Cyprus.† Of architectural detail he has found but little, and that little is for the most part Roman. The efforts of Mr. Ernest Gardner have been rewarded by a harvest of inscriptions, many of the Ptolemaic period. Among other discoveries has been found the head of an Eros, in good condition, but later in style than the finest period of Greek art. It is smaller than life, and probably formed part of a group, for one side is less carefully worked.‡ From the earlier tombs have been obtained fine specimens of pottery; from tombs of later date, glass, of which some interesting vessels have fallen to the lot of the British Museum. Perhaps the most valuable find, however, is the magnificent gold hairpin—worthy of the Paphian Queen herself—which now holds a conspicuous position in the Museum galleries. Its beauty is not its sole recommendation, for it bears an inscription dating apparently from the end of the third century. The bull's-head ornament reminds one of Persepolis.

The Greek islands were investigated early in the present century by Ross and Thiersch.

The rocky Calymnos, with its population of sponge-divers, was four times visited by Sir Charles (then Mr.) Newton. On the third occasion, during the Crimean War, he

* *Athenaeum*, April 14, 1888.

† See Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, No. xxxi.; also Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 628.

‡ See a notice by Mr. Cecil Smith in the *Classical Review*, December, 1888, p. 329.

excavated the cemetery called Damos, where gold ornaments had previously been found. Here he met with glass vessels, several instances of the *ραῦλος*, or "Charon's fee," and, best of all, the beautiful bronze group in high relief of Boreas and Oreithyia figured in his *Travels*, and now in the British Museum. On the site of the Temple of Apollo, white marble fragments of a colossal hand and of feet came to light, possibly the *disjecta membra* of the god's own statue. Votive offerings, too, were there; and, between the interstices of the pavement, coins, arrow-heads, and glass *astragali*. Of the numerous inscriptions, sixty-four were decrees of the Senate and people of Calymna, mostly relating to citizenship or to *proxenia*, and ranging from 350 to 250 B.C.*

For special efforts in more recent times, we have to thank two of our own countrymen, Mr. Bent and Mr. Paton, the results of whose researches and travels in Samos, Thasos and Calymnos will be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vols. vii. and viii.).

The graves of the Cyclades continue to yield vases both of clay and of marble, the latter specially characteristic of the islands; of marble, too, are the flat naked female idols, with arms across the breast.† According to Dümmler,‡ the weapons found in these prehistoric graves do not include either axes or swords,§ but only primitive daggers and spear-heads.

In this point of warlike equipment, among others, the art of the Islands is akin to that of Hissarlik, and is distinguished from the more advanced civilization represented at Mykenæ.

In treating of prehistoric art we may take as our central point Mykenæ, with its pit-graves yielding a wondrous store of ornaments in gold and bronze, hammered or cast or stamped; its statelier domed sepulchres of later date; its inlaid swords; its vases of various styles.|| The earlier stages of civiliza-

tion are found at Hissarlik, in Cyprus, and the islands of the Aegean.

Of the successive tiers of settlements which lie as strata on the hill of Hissarlik, the lowest but one may be taken as best representing the Troy of Homeric song.

In *Troja* (Leipzig, 1884), Dr. Schliemann has corrected some of his earlier views, and has given full details of the vases made to imitate the human form, and so adorned with necklace and jauntily cocked cap-tuft. It was in these human effigies that their discoverer with Homeric zeal saw the presentment of Athena's owl.

The magnificent collection which Dr. Schliemann has given to his country has been fitly housed in the "Museum für Völkerkunde," the imposing Ethnographical Museum at Berlin. The collection is a large one, but it can of course bear no comparison to the deluge of antiquities that has been poured forth of late years from the shrines and cemeteries of Cyprus. It was not only the amount, but the heterogeneous nature of Di Cesnola's finds that made men despair of arriving at any reasonable arrangement of the results. His work was chaotic. Greater care is now taken to separate and classify what is found. Foreigners have indeed asserted that English officials prefer the interests of trade to those of scientific discovery.* Yet the energetic Max Ohnefalsch-Richter speaks of the establishment of a Museum Committee as due to the initiative of the Governor of the island. On behalf of this committee excavations were commenced at Voni, which resulted in the discovery of a sanctuary of Apollo, with statues enough to fill a whole room in a museum.† The earlier antiquities have not been neglected. Dümmler and others have examined the oldest cemeteries, and have drawn attention to the affinity of the pottery found therein to that of Hissarlik. A bridge from this culture to that of Mykenæ is found in the islands of the Aegean.

We are here brought face to face with a question of nationality, which seems likely to

bronzes, etc., see *Ephemeris Archaiologiké* for 1887, Part IV.

* Dümmler, *Älteste Nekropolen auf Cypern*, *Mitth.*, xi.

† *Mitth.*, ix., p. 128.

* Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part II.

† Noted by Thiersch fifty years ago. Münchener Akad., 1834, 85. See Müller-Wieseler, *Taf.*, ii. 15. For figures playing lyre and flute, see Koehler, *Mitth.*, ix.

‡ *Mitth.*, xi., p. 38.

§ Yet see Paton, *J. H. S.*, viii., p. 449.

|| For additional discoveries of painted pottery,

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cause as much trouble to the present generation as that concerning the Pelasgians to the last. Who and what manner of men were the Carians? and what were the limits of their settlements in prehistoric times? In this, as in all other questions of antiquities connected with Greece, we must go back, in the first instance, to Herodotus.* He tells us that the Carians had come to the mainland of Asia from the islands, where, under the name of Leleges, they had acknowledged the supremacy of Minos, had manned his fleets, and shared in his renown. To their invention the Greek warriors owed plumes for their helmets, together with devices for their shields and better means of holding them. Eventually, however, being driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians, they settled in Asia Minor. This was the statement of the Cretans. The Carians themselves, on the other hand, denied the truth of this, and maintained that they were aborigines of the Continent, and related to the Lydians and Mysians. Conversely, the Caunians, who used the Carian language, were considered by Herodotus as indigenous, but themselves claimed a Cretan origin, and some faith is due to the traditions of a race so conservative as to strike the air with spears to drive out foreign gods.† Thucydides, too,‡ speaks of the Carians as formerly inhabiting the Cyclades, adducing in proof of his assertion the fact that, on the purification of Delos by the removal of tombs, the greater part of these tombs were found to be Carian. They were recognised as such by the weapons deposited in them, and by the mode of interment, a mode still practised by that people in the time of the historian.

Kritias, quoted by Athenaeus,§ celebrates the Carians as masters of the sea, and attributes to them the invention of ships. Homer|| knows nothing of the Carians as islanders. They occupy Miletus, when their leader enters on the war, carrying with him a wealth of gold|| that reminds one of Mykenæ. Many there are, indeed, who would ascribe to this race the marvellous early civilization

* I., 171.

† Her., i. 172.

‡ I., 4 and 8.

§ I. 28.

|| II., ii. 867.

of the eastern portion of the Peloponnesus revealed to us of late by the successful labours of Dr. Schliemann. The first to express this view was Ulrich Koehler.* He maintained that the graves, both of Mykenæ and Spata, belonged to Carian settlers in Argolis and the coast of Attica, where such names as Brilettos, Lykabettos, Ardettos, and Hymettos, bear a suffix common in Asia Minor, especially in Caria.† He thinks it must have been a race accustomed to the sea that borrowed from marine objects the patterns for dress and for utensils found at Mykenæ. On gems and vases from the islands are found similar forms of polypi. The figures on the gold plates of Mykenæ have been compared to the small female idols of marble of rudest workmanship found in the islands —idols which Thiersch and later archaeologists held to be pre-Hellenic or Carian. From the Islands came Perseus, builder of Mykenæ. Pelops came from Lydia, and Herodotus says the Lydians were related to the Carians. The double-axe is found at Mykenæ, with a quantity of arms in the graves, suggestive of the Carian burials mentioned by Thucydides.

Koehler's views are adopted by Dümmler,‡ who holds that the civilization of Mykenæ is of Carian, not Achæan origin. He points out that the trade of Mykenæ and her neighbours was developed towards the East, in the direction of Cyprus and Egypt, not towards any tribes of Greece. The Achæan Menelaos goes to Egypt only because he is driven there by a storm; while the Kings of Tiryns, on the other hand, had a regular trade with that country. Athenaeus states that the Carians held the Leleges in serfdom.§ In order to reconcile such literary traditions, Dümmler propounds the following hypothesis: That the Leleges inhabited the Peloponnesus, part of Central Greece, the Islands, and the west coast of Asia Minor. That the Carians pressed from the east up to the east coast of Greece, and made the Leleges serfs. These, however, had the upper hand in the Islands,

* Ueber die Zeit und den Ursprung der Grabanlagen in Mykenæ und Spata, *Mith.*, iii., pp. 1-13.

† For Carian names of places see Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 449.

‡ Zur Herkunft der Mykenischen Cultur, *Mith.*, xi., Heft 1.

§ VI. 271, B.

¶ Helbig, *Hom. Epos.*, 2nd ed., 245, suggests that Amphimachos may have dressed out his hair with golden spirals; hence the comparison with a girl.

which explains the Cretan story. By the Dorian and Ionian colonization of the Islands, the Carians and Leleges were thrown back together to the Asiatic coast. So the civilization of the Islands was that of the Leleges ; the civilization of Mykenæ that of the Carians. The Thalassocracy of Minos was represented by the "geometric" art. Thus much Dümmler. It must be borne in mind that this is what Germans call pure "Combination."

Studniczka * adds an argument against attributing to Achæans the culture of Mykenæ. No fibula has been found there, an implement used by Greeks of every tribe. To Oriental races, on the other hand, the fibula was unknown. To the objection that fibulæ are found in Caria, as at Assarlik, † he replies that the graves there belonged to the early Greek colonists. The fibulæ found in Cyprus he would also ascribe to the oldest Hellenic settlers. As far as the Carian women are concerned, we may remember that Herodotus ‡ intimates that they wore dresses fully made up so as not to require fibulae.

The Germans, however, are not allowed to have it all their own way. To the eighth volume of *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Mr. W. R. Paton contributes two papers. In the first, "Excavations in Caria," he gives an account of the tombs of Assarlik, identified by Sir Charles Newton with Syangela, but regarded by Mr. Paton as representing the ancient Termera. Here he found "fragments of terra-cotta sarcophagi, with elaborate geometrical designs produced by moulding, not by colour." §

The peninsula on which Assarlik stands was, according to some, the home of the Leleges. The contrast between the product of the tombs in this district and the treasures of Mykenæ may be seen from the summary at the close of Mr. Paton's first report :

"There is no trace of any but geometric designs. The fibulæ are all of one pattern. The weapons are exclusively of iron. The bodies have in all cases been burnt."

In his second paper, entitled "Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos," Mr. Paton admits, indeed, that Dümmler and Studniczka have

given convincing reasons for regarding the geometric style as proto-Hellenic, and the 'Mycenæan' style as foreign, or pre-Hellenic. But further than this he does not go with the German scholars. He finds no evidence of weight for the Carian origin of Mykenæan civilization. "Nothing 'Mycenæan,'" says Mr. Paton, "has been found in Caria, and the pottery of the Leleges, the inhabitants of its coasts, belongs, as we have seen, to a primitive geometric system."

In the tombs and the palaces of Mykenæ, Orchomenos, and Tiryns, he finds traces of an active intercourse with Egypt. This Egyptian influence is observed in modes of burial and in the inlaid bronze work ; while in the pottery we have ornament independent of foreign art, and developed among a maritime people. For the origin of this he would look to Crete. "The whole story of the Carian occupation of the islands" seems to Mr. Paton to be "lacking in trustworthiness." "As Herodotus tells us, the Carians themselves knew nothing of it," the account coming from the Cretans.

Mr. Paton's experience and knowledge of the ground referred to may specially entitle him to a hearing, and his views are no doubt supported by men equally competent to form an opinion on this difficult question. He will have the support, too, of many who do not like the rude disturbance of old beliefs. It was a pleasing thing to imagine that we had come across the relics of the king of men, and found him surrounded with pompous trappings worthy of the golden Mykenæ. Or, if we could not go quite so far as this, at least to imagine that the graves discovered were those of "Achæan" princes, prototypes of heroes in Homeric verse. To recognise in the lords of Mykenæ a mere barbarian horde whose speech was unintelligible to an ordinary Greek,* was indeed a grievous bathos.

On the other hand, the Carian theory is advocated by able men ; the opinion of Professor Koehler is especially weighty. And after all, however much Greeks may have looked down on Carians in the brightest days of Hellas, there were times when these were thought fit to march and fight under the

* See Her., viii. 135. So in Homer Carians are βαρβαρόφωνοι.

* Mith., xii., p. 8.

† Paton in J. H. S., viii., p. 170.

‡ V. 88.

§ J. H. S., viii., p. 75.

same banner as the men of Ionia or of Rhodes.*

When the Persians crushed the Ionic revolt, there were few who resisted so stubbornly as the worshippers of Zeus Stratios.† We know from Herodotus‡ that the élite of the Ionian colonists of Asia Minor took Carian wives, and the account he gives shows these to have been women of spirit.

In art, again, even Homer himself bears witness to the skill of the Carians.§

We have no intention of entering into a discussion of the numerous questions connected with the antiquities of Crete, but will only in passing draw attention to the great code of private law recently discovered at Gortyn.

Two fragments of this had been previously found. In 1884, however, Dr. Federico Halbherr discovered and copied four columns of the inscription, and on his information Dr. Fabricius recovered the remaining eight.

After much negotiation with the owners of the property, he obtained permission to excavate the earth covering the wall on which the law was engraved. A trench was dug, but it was then discovered that a huge mulberry-tree grew right over the wall. As the owners were deaf to all proposals to cut it down, nothing remained but to dig a pit on the other side and run a tunnel under the tree.

For seven days Dr. Fabricius worked in a trench 11 feet deep, with his feet in the water which constantly flowed in from the adjacent millstream, and had to be baled out from hour to hour. Twice through storms the water rose to a couple of yards. The sufferings of the worthy Doctor in copying the lower lines in his dark tunnel may be left to the imagination. What seems to have vexed his soul most, however, was the shower of questions and suggestions of the crowd of inquisitive Cretans of both sexes who from early till late stood round his trench.|| The owner, too, of the field and the inscription, waxed wrathful as he thought himself outwitted and robbed of his treasure, and with

* Her. ii. 152; iii. 11; and vii. 93. See also Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, ix., part 1, as to Carians at Abu-Simbel.

† Her., v. 119, 121.

‡ I. 146.

§ II., iv. 142.

|| *Mitth.*, ix., p. 366.

threats claimed damages for burrowing under his mulberry-tree.

German perseverance, however, succeeded in giving to the world an accurate copy of this unique document. It is longer than any inscription of early date, covering the wall to a height of 5 feet for 9 or 10 yards. It contains, according to Mr. E. S. Roberts,* about 17,000 letters. Its provisions relate to the law of the family. At first sight, from the peculiar forms of some letters and the absence of the later additions to the alphabet, one might suppose it to be of very early date; and in fact some scholars have referred it to the sixth or even the seventh century. On the other hand, if we look to the extreme regularity and finish of the carving, and to the fact that the same alphabetical peculiarities are found on works of art the style of which belongs undoubtedly to the fifth century, we feel compelled to assign to it a later date, perhaps even the second half of the fifth century.†



The House of Orange-Nassau.

"Je Maintiendrai."



Ta time when we are commemorating by the erection of a statue the landing at Torbay of King William III. in 1688, the following notes, showing the inter-relationship between our royal family and that of Holland, will be interesting to the English reader.

ORANGE.

In 1527 the armies of the Emperor Charles V. took Rome. The Connétable de Bourbon fell in the assault, and was succeeded in the command of the Imperial forces by Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange (the ancient Arausio), a small independent State on the great historic road of the valley of the Rhone, which, from the eleventh century, had been ruled by its own sovereigns.

Philibert, in his turn, fell before Florence,

* *Introd. to Epigraphy*, p. 41.

† See Kirchhoff, *Studien*, p. 78.

leaving no issue. His sister Claude married Henry, Count of Nassau, Marquess of Breda, lord of several possessions in the Netherlands, and one of Charles V.'s generals. He died in 1538.

The son of Henry and Claude was René, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (d. 1544). His heir was his cousin, the famous William the Silent (1533-1584), son of William the Rich, brother of Henry.

William the Silent died by the hand of the assassin Balthazar Gerard in 1584. His eldest son, Philip William—a prisoner first in Spain and afterwards in Brussels—(d. 1618) bequeathed his titles to his brother Maurice of Nassau, Stadhouder of Holland, etc. (d. 1625). Maurice was succeeded by his brother Frederick Henry (d. 1647), and he by his son William II. (d. 1650), who married Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I.

William's posthumous son, William III., married Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Invited to England, William landed at Torbay November 5, 1688, and was crowned King in 1689, retaining his stadholdership of Holland.

Thus, William III. (*Stadhouder*) of Holland became William III. (*King*) of England.

William III. died in 1702 without issue, having bequeathed his Netherlandish titles to John William "Friso," Stadhouder of Friesland (d. 1711), grandson of Albertina Agnes, daughter of Frederick Henry (d. 1647), sister of William II., and wife of William Frederick of Friesland (d. 1664). Part of King William's possessions were inherited by the issue of the Great Elector, William of Brandenburg, who married King William's aunt, Louisa Henrietta, ancestress of the reigning royal family of Prussia.

"Friso's" son, William Charles Henry Friso, Stadhouder of Friesland, was created, as William IV., hereditary stadhouder of all the Provinces. He died in 1751, leaving his widow Anne, daughter of George II., ancestress of the reigning royal family of Holland, regent. His son William V., the last of the stadholders, took refuge in England in 1795, and died in 1806. It was his son who was recalled to Holland in 1813 to

be the first King of the Netherlands, with the title of King William I. He abdicated in 1840 in favour of his son William II. (d. 1849), who was succeeded by the reigning sovereign, William III. The King of Holland's eldest son William, Prince of Orange,* died in 1879, and the younger, Prince Alexander, in 1884. The heir to the throne of Holland† is Wilhelmina, Princess of Orange, the only living child of the king, by his second queen, Emma, of Waldeck, sister of the widow of H.R.H. the late Duke of Albany.

The King of Holland's sister, Sophia, married Charles, Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar. Their eldest grandson, William, born in 1876, is four years older than the Princess Wilhelmina.

NASSAU.

The House of Nassau traces its origin to Otto, of Franconia, brother of Conrad I., elected King of the Germans in 911. Otto's descendant, Count Henry the Rich, divided his lands (1255) between his sons Walram II. and Otto. Otto's line survives in the reigning family of Holland. The Duke of Nassau (dispossessed in 1866) represents the line of Walram.

The Otto line had several branches. Upon the death of William of Nassau-Dillenburg (1559), his two sons, William the Silent and John, became the heads of two houses. William the Silent was the great-grandfather of William III., stadhouder, who became King William III. of England. From John descended John William Friso, who was heir to William III., and the ancestor of the reigning King of Holland, William III.

[*My thanks are due to the Chevalier John Kramers, of Rotterdam, for his aid in the preparation of these notes.*]

HENRY ATTWELL.

* The title of Prince of Orange, bestowed upon the heir to the throne, is retained by the king, and used in official documents, in which he is styled Prince of Orange-Nassau.

† But not to Luxemburg, the heir to which is the dispossessed Duke of Nassau.

THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU.

ORANGE.

NASSAU.

Engelbert (d. 1443), Count of Nassau, Commander in the Netherlands under Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, married the heiress of Poten and Breda.
John (d. 1475).

Engelbert (d. 1504). John (d. 1516).

Rivis (d. 1544).

Philip William (d. 1618).

Louisa, m. Elector Palatine.

Charles I. (d. 1625).

Elizabeth, m. Frederick, Elector Palatine.

James I. (d. 1649).

m. Elector Palatine.

James II. (d. 1701).

Mary*, m. William II., Prince of Orange.

Charles II. (d. 1685).

George I. (d. 1727).

Sophia, m. Elector of Hanover.

George II. (d. 1760).

George III. (d. 1820).

Frederick, m. William IV., Prince of Orange.

Anne, ***, m. William IV., Prince of Orange.

Anne, ***, m. William IV., Prince of Orange.

George III. (d. 1820).

George IV. (d. 1837).

William IV. (d. 1837).

Edward, Duke of Kent.

Victoria.

William IV. (d. 1851).

Frederick William IV. (d. 1865).

Frederick III. (d. 1868).

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Ancient Peru.

BY R. S. MYLNE, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., CHAPLAIN
AND LECTURER OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

PART II.

TThere remains to give a brief account of the character and personal history of the Inca princes who founded and governed the vast Empire of Peru.

This is indeed the particular subject of the second portion of the Chronicle. The learned Mr. Prescott, the well-known historian of the early civilization of America, erroneously regarded it as the work of Dr. Sarmiento. His keen eye, however, at once detected its literary merit and historical value. He made free use of its then sealed pages in the composition of his famous book concerning the Conquest of Peru. The first few sheets have perished, and the existing document opens with a fragmentary sentence on the eternal contrast between the ultimate fate of the evil and the good.

The righteous "go to a delightful place full of enjoyment and pleasure, where they all eat and drink, and rejoice ; and if, on the contrary, they have done evil, disobedient to parents, hostile to religion, they go to another place, which is dark and dismal."

But to return to the history of the Peruvian emperors. Twelve, or, as some say, eleven, Incas of the sacred line reputed to be descended from the sun, ruled the land in lawful succession. Before their days, says the Chronicle, everything was in dire confusion, and "many went naked like savages." They lived in caves and cliffs, and rocks and dens of the earth, and obtained their scanty food by constant hunting. Why was such ignorance and barbarism allowed to prevail ? The hard question just crossed Cieza's puzzled mind, and he concludes the matter by saying : "The Devil, by permission of Almighty God, and for reasons known to Him, had very great power amongst these people." How many wiser philosophers have been puzzled and perplexed in considering the origin and active existence of evil !

Of the earliest Incas not much has been handed down to posterity. Manco Capac, the

founder of Cuzco, was the first of the distinguished and honourable line. He was succeeded by Sinchi Roca, who enlarged the House of the Sun, and induced many strangers to come and settle in the capital. He gave his beautiful daughter in marriage to the eldest son of a neighbouring chieftain. The happy event caused some scandal amongst the Peruvian nobility, lest the purity of the blood of the Imperial line should be thereby impaired. The same spirit of jealousy may be traced in royal and aristocratic families everywhere. Lloque Yupanqui, his immediate successor, enlarged the city of Cuzco, and amassed vast quantities of gold and silver.

The fourth Inca, Mayta Capac, came to the empire very young. Cieza says but little is recorded of his life, but Garcilasso de la Vega declares that he made some great conquests, particularly in the hilly district around the great lake Titicaca.

The fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui, commenced his reign by a very successful campaign. In one of his chief battles he is reported to have slain over six thousand of the enemy after the manner of Oriental despots. He likewise extended his dominions by skilful negotiations and the secret arts of diplomacy. In this way certain border tribes were induced to receive him as their lord. He died in a good old age, and was succeeded by the sixth Inca, who was named Rocca, and was chiefly famous for a formal progress which he made in great state and pomp through a portion of the empire. His own son, the Inca Yupanqui, came next to the throne. He was a brave and virtuous prince, "of gentle presence, grave, and of imposing mien." But notwithstanding his virtues, he was foully slain by a traitor, to the thorough astonishment of the Indians, who were accustomed to regard their ruler as one of the Gods. The name of the eighth Inca was Viracocha. He is renowned, according to the old records, as the successful conqueror of Calca and Caitomarca. Into the latter town we are told that he threw a burning stone from a golden sling, with such tremendous force as to set fire to the thatched eaves of the houses, and so the people of the place at once submitted, regarding this extraordinary event as a sign of warning from heaven. What the weapon was, which he

really used, can never now be known. Two rival chieftains at this time dominated the mountain province of Collao. Playing one off against the other, the Inca added this district to his dominions. With the more powerful of these two he made a treaty of peace. A large golden cup was brought, out of which each drank the sparkling wine; and then the Inca placed it upon a loose stone, and said : "The sign is this. The cup shall be here. I do not move it, nor you touch it, in token that that which is agreed upon shall be observed." Then kissing, they made reverence to the sun. And the priests deposited the cup in one of the temples to be a perpetual witness of that solemn treaty. So peace was made in Ancient Peru.

Inca Yupanqui was the ninth Inca that reigned in Cuzco, and he marked his accession to the Crown by a splendid victory over the warlike tribe of the Chancas. At one time even Cuzco, the capital, seemed in danger, but in the end the Inca completely overthrew his enemies. During the reign of this powerful prince, the Empire of Peru assumed the magnificent dimensions which it retained down to the Spanish conquest.

After the victory over the Chancas, he made successful expeditions against the wild mountain tribes of the maritime Cordillera. Where he could not capture by storm, he starved out by blockade the garrisons of the fastnesses in the mountains. He likewise conquered the Huancas, and other minor tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood. To the south he subdued the whole population as far as the distant shores of the great lake Titicaca, and also explored considerable portions of the dense forests of the Andes, where monstrous snakes are found. He built a large part of the famous royal road, and in despotic fashion ordered his subjects to speak one language, and by assiduous study acquired much knowledge of the movements of the stars. His most notable act, according to Cieza, was the erection of the fortress Temple of the Sun in the city of Cuzco. Archaeologists, however, consider this marvellous building is of earlier date. Tupac Inca, the tenth in the succession, commenced his reign by quelling a rebellion amongst the Collas, and then undertook the conquest of the outlying tribes to the north,

as far as Quito. It is needless to enter upon the details of the long march. All ended with complete success, and the Inca established a governor of his own in Quito, entrusted with vast powers. Moreover, the people learnt to call their new prince "The Father of all, the good Lord, the just Judge."

On the return journey, Tupac Inca subjugated the low-lying valleys of the sea-coast, commonly called the valleys of the Yuncas, where intense heat prevailed, and the people were more effeminate than the mountaineers. Gratified at his great victories in the north, Tupac Inca set out to accomplish the same object in the south. He penetrated beyond the great lake Titicaca, and became the lord of Chile or Chili.

Yet, such are the accidents of life, that, soon after his victorious return, he was taken ill suddenly and died.

Great was the mourning and lamentation, from one end to the other of that vast empire, when this mighty conqueror passed onward to the abode of the sun.

Great treasure was buried in his tomb, and the appropriate heathen rites performed with much pomp and ceremony.

Doubtless there was rich food provided for his long journey, and the forced companionship of some of his favourite wives and dependants.

The next Inca was named Huayna Capac. He was not tall, but "well built, with good features, and much gravity. He was a man of few words, but many deeds; a severe judge who punished without mercy." At the first he lived chiefly in Cuzco; afterwards he visited some of his provinces in great state, and was well received on all sides. He occupied his troops and servants in constructing vast buildings, as palaces, baths, and store-houses, wherever he made any long stay. He was careful to put in order the affairs of Chile, and to introduce the same wise system of administration which prevailed in the other parts of the empire.

He also made a royal progress to Quito. It was a saying of this prince, that when his people had no other work to do, it was a good thing to make them remove a hill from one place to another. He even ordered stones and slabs to be brought from Cuzco for the construction of new palaces in Quito.

This powerful sovereign marched through the coast valleys, severely punishing all who opposed him, especially the people of the island of Puna. Yet he could be kindly. An old man, who was working in the fields, heard the mighty Inca was going to pass that way, and he gathered a little fruit called "pepino," and said, "Very great lord, eat thou." And the proud prince took the poor man's offering, and said: "Of a truth this is very sweet." From this incident, observes the Spanish chronicler, everyone derived much gratification.

In the neighbourhood of Quito, Huayna Capac seems to have spent much time. Once or twice his troops were defeated by the wild border tribes, but terrible vengeance was ultimately wreaked upon his enemies. In the midst of his great schemes of conquest, he was carried off by a pestilential fever which raged in the city of Quito. Yet before his death, he heard of the landing of the first white man, Francisco Pizarro, upon the coast, and he inquired diligently what he and his companions were like, and what was their character.

Profound peace reigned in Ancient Peru when this mighty Inca passed away. But the empire was too large for one governor, and the result was that Atahualpa ruled in Quito, and Huascar reigned in Cuzco. The former was the best-loved son of the last Inca, and the latter was the legitimate heir to the throne. The one was the favourite with the army; the other was popular with the nobles of the capital.

The immediate result of the division was civil war. The first battle was fought at Ambato, and the victory remained with Atahualpa. A second contest took place in the province of Paltas, ending in the same way. It was just at this particular juncture that the Spaniards landed on the coast, and commenced their famous conquest. Atahualpa was thus prevented from marching southwards on Cuzco, and was eventually foully murdered by Pizarro. At this point our narrative must come to an end. The last of the Incas has found an early grave by the hand of the invading white man, but it is not our business on the present occasion either to attempt to describe or to mar the halo of glory which has long centred round the Spanish conquest of Peru.

The Camara Santa at Oviedo.

By F. R. MCCLINTOCK, B.A.

The relics and the written works of saints, Toledo's choicest treasure prized beyond All wealth, their living and their dead remains ; These to the mountain fastnesses he bore Of unsubdued Cantabria, there deposed, One day to be the boast of yet unbuilt Oviedo, and the dear idolatry of multitudes un-born."

SOUTHEY, *Roderick*, Canto xviii.



DJOINING the south transept of the Cathedral of Oviedo is a sacred spot. Here may still be seen the small building erected in 802 by King D. Alonso el Casto for the reception of the ark or chest containing certain relics highly venerated by believers.

According to the popular tradition, this chest, made by the disciples of the Apostles of incorruptible wood, was removed, with its contents, to Africa from Jerusalem, when that city was subjugated by Chosroes, King of Persia. On the invasion of Africa by the Arabs, it was transferred from that country to Cartagena, in Spain, or, according to others, to Seville, whence it came to Toledo, where it remained until the occupation of that capital by the Moors. From Toledo it was taken, either by Bishop Urban or Julian, or, perhaps, by King Pelayo himself, to a place of safety in the Cave of Monsagro in the mountains of the province of Asturias, from whence it was finally transferred by King Don Alonso el Casto to his newly-founded church of San Salvador.

Whether the relics now shown twice daily to the faithful are those which were originally in the chest is a disputed point. According to some authorities, the chest was opened at the instance of King Don Alfonso VI., in 1075, in presence of a number of prelates of Spain then taking refuge in Oviedo. In it they discovered a number of caskets of gold, silver, ivory, and coral, which, on being reverently opened, were found to contain relics the exact nature of which was clearly indicated by small slips of parchment attached to each. According to Morales, however, such horror and dismay fell upon the most illustrious Señor D. Christoval de Rojas y Sandoval, who, when Bishop of Oviedo, essayed to open the Holy Ark, that he was obliged to desist from his intent, although he

had devoutly prepared himself for the solemn act by fasting and prayers, "his whole holy desire being turned into a chill of humble shrinking and fear. Among other things which his most illustrious lordship relates of what he then felt, he says that his hair stood up in such a manner, and with such force, that it seemed to him as if it lifted the mitre a considerable way from his head. In this manner the Holy Ark remained unopened then, and will always remain fastened more surely with veneration and reverence, and with respect of these examples, than with the strong bolt of its lock."*

Whether the ark be empty or full, and by what means it was brought to the place where we now see it, are matters which need not particularly concern us. Its value and interest are neither increased nor diminished by the fables connected with it. Leaving these questions, then, on one side, we purpose attempting a short description of the chest itself, as well as of some of the most notable objects of genuine art displayed to view in this sacred chamber.

But, first, a word or two as to the actual building in which these treasures are housed.

From the transept of the cathedral you ascend by a flight of twenty-two steps leading to a vestibule, through which, descending now a few steps, you pass to the Cámara Santa. This sacred chamber is divided into two parts—the antechamber, and the inner sanctuary. The antechamber consists of a single nave in the late Romanesque style, with a semicircular vault, whose ribs or groins spring from a rich cornice, sustained by capitals variously and elaborately ornamented, which surmount pairs of columns like caryatides, carved in the likeness of the Apostles—twelve in all. These figures, which, like the rest of this portion of the building, probably date from the time of Alfonso VI., are truly Byzantine in character, stiff, quaint, and elongated, but are, nevertheless, not without a certain peculiar charm of their own. Their feet rest upon fantastical representations of grotesque animals, and each pair of columns stands on a pedestal, with small pillars at the front angles. The pavement is of cement

(*argamasa*), into which pebbles of many colours have been introduced, so as to give the appearance of jasper. At the further end of this part of the chamber is the *sanctum sanctorum*, or sanctuary of the Cámara, simple and primitive in its ornamentation. The floor of this Holy of Holies is slightly higher, and the roof considerably lower than is the case with the more elaborately-ornamented antechamber. This, in all probability, is the only vestige now remaining of the original building of Alonso el Casto. In order to guard the sacred relics from the effects of the climate of this mountainous region, which, unlike the rest of Spain, is damp and rainy, Alonso caused the building destined for their reception to be raised to some height from the ground. Underneath is a massive stone-vaulted chapel, or crypt, dedicated to the memory of the martyr Santa Leocadia. Both antechamber and sanctuary are lighted solely by a small window at the east end of the latter.

In front of this window, in the space left between it and a small balustrade separating the two divisions of the building, stands the famous chest, or *Arca Santa*. It is of oak, covered with a thin plating of silver, and is adorned with representations of sacred subjects in low relief, embossed and chiselled. On the front part of the chest are the twelve Apostles under niches, with the four Evangelists at the angles, and, in the centre, the image of Christ sustained by angels; on one of the sides appear the birth of Christ, the adoration of the shepherds, and the flight into Egypt; on the other, the rebellion of the wicked angels, the Ascension, and various figures of Apostles, with inscriptions. The cover is adorned with a representation of Mount Calvary. This chest is six feet long, by three and a half feet wide, and its height is the same as its width. There seems little reason to doubt that it was made, not for Alonso el Casto, as some fondly suppose, but for Alfonso VI., the name of whose sister, Urraca, appears on the inscription on the cover.* Around the border runs an inscription in cufic characters now illegible, but held to express in Arabic the praise of the one God—a custom which was not introduced into Christian works of art until

* It must be owned, however, that Urraca is no uncommon name in the early royal families of Spain. There has been much discussion as to this name, Urraca. See *Hist. Gen. de España*, vol. iii., c. xiv.

* From the translation of Morales' account of the Cámara Santa in the notes to Canto xviii. of Southe's Roderick.

after the reconquest of Toledo. Like the figures on the walls of the antechamber, the work on the chest bears evident traces of the Byzantine influence which then pervaded the art workshops of Europe. But the style of the various designs reveals an art of a much later period than the ninth century.

Over the ark, which, as above hinted, stands like an isolated altar, the numerous relics are ranged on shelves, and in cases placed against the walls. The most notable objects, from an artistic point of view at least, here shown are the two famous historical crosses, *La Cruz de los Angeles*, and *La Cruz de la Victoria*; various beautiful caskets for relics, and some remarkable diptychs. The *Cruz de los Angeles*, in shape a Maltese cross, derives its name from the circumstances set forth in the following legend :

Being desirous of adorning his newly-founded church of San Salvador with a costly offering, King Alonso had collected a great quantity of gold and precious stones, with a view to the fashioning of a richly-ornamented cross. But the fact that no artificer sufficiently skilful to carry out his pious intentions could be found within his dominions, caused him much vexation and annoyance. In this state of mind, as he was one day returning from Mass, two strangers in the garb of pilgrims, being aware of his desire, presented themselves before him, and offered to perform the task which he so piously wished to see accomplished. Alonso immediately caused the strangers to be taken to a remote apartment of the palace, and the materials for making the cross were forthwith supplied to them. After a short time some of the king's retainers went to the apartment to see how the work was progressing. But to their intense surprise they found that the pilgrims had disappeared, leaving behind them, suspended in the air, an exquisitely ornamented cross, from which a bright light proceeded. There could be no doubt, therefore, that the supposed strangers were angels, whom the king had thus entertained unawares.*

* The editor of the *Historia General de España y de sus Indias*, from which I have taken the above legend, naively remarks that "those who do not believe that angels came down from heaven to fashion this cross, suppose that the two journeymen or pilgrims who presented themselves to Alonso were Arabian artists from Cordova, the goldsmiths of which

The cross is enriched with fine gilt filigree work, in which are set precious stones of various kinds—amethysts, topazes, agates, turquoises, onyxes, and others of equal value. Of especial richness is the magnificent ruby, in the centre of the cross, corresponding with which, at the back, is a fine cameo, from its style and character possibly Roman. There are other cameos on the cross, besides engraved stones. At the foot of the cross are two angels in attitudes of adoration. These little figures seem from their character to belong to a much later period than the cross itself. We may probably consider them to date from the end of the sixteenth, or even the beginning of the seventeenth, century.*

The other cross differs from the former in form and size, but resembles it in the style and character of its ornamentation. The original basis of oak is traditionally believed to have fallen from heaven, and to have been elevated by the gallant Don Pelayo in his victorious contest with the Moors at Covadonga—hence its name, "The Cross of Victory." It is 36 in. by 28½ in. wide, and was covered with gold, precious stones, and enamelled designs, by order of Alfonso the Great in 908, at the Castle of Gauzon, the ruined remains of which still exist about fourteen miles from Oviedo.† The inscriptions at the back of these crosses, which are given verbatim in Señor Riaño's *The Industrial Arts in Spain*, prove their antiquity and authenticity beyond any reasonable doubt.

In the case of objects so antique and so precious, it is not astonishing that a flavour of tradition and romance has become intermingled with their history. It could not well happen otherwise in Spain—the country, beyond all others, of legendary and romantic lore. So much, indeed, has this character pervaded the history of the country during the period of its subjugation by the Moors, and its reconquest by the Christians, that sober historians experience more than usual

city had already at that period acquired great fame, distinguishing themselves by the beauty and delicacy of their work."

* See *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, vol. x.

† This castle was one of those erected for a defence of the sea-coast against the invasions of the Normans.

difficulty in disentangling truth from fiction in the narratives they present to their readers. Washington Irving thought it better not to try and do so overmuch. "To discard," he says, "everything wild and marvellous in this portion of Spanish history is to discard some of its most beautiful, instructive, and national features; it is to judge of Spain by the standard of probability suited to tamer and more prosaic countries."* But however much we may regret it, the inquiring spirit of the age in which we live demands a rigid investigation of events pretending to be historical, and insists on the rejection of what is merely legendary at all costs.

Among the caskets to be seen at this shrine, is one composed of agates set in gold, the gift of King Fruela II., an inscription on which shows that it was made in the year 910 A.D.

The diptychs belonging to the shrine were destined to serve as reliquaries or portable altars. One misnamed the *Altar de los Apóstoles*, for on it are represented scenes from the life of Christ, is an ivory diptych belonging to the second half of the fourteenth century. More important and more ancient is the diptych made by the Order, and bearing the name of Bishop Gonzalo Menendez, who was Bishop of Oviedo from A.D. 1162 to 1175. When open it is about 5 in. long by 7 in. wide, and is ornamented within and without with filigree work, ivory statuettes, and precious stones. It is reckoned one of the finest specimens of Spanish jewellery of the period.

The reader who desires fuller and more perfect details respecting this shrine and its valuable contents should consult the splendid work entitled *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España*, published by the Spanish Government, wherein he will find much set down at length which could not well find place in a short magazine article. The excellent *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, vol. x., may also be referred to with advantage.

A fitting crown to this sacred chamber is the short square tower with small Romanesque arches and pillars, and quaintly ornamented capitals, which may be seen from the narrow lane or passage on the south side of the cathedral.

* Preface to *Legends of the Conquest of Spain*.

To the devotee, no less than to the humble art student, will this chamber and its contents ever appear worthy of high veneration. The feelings which a visit to the spot called up in the pious mind of Morales are recorded in his journal: "I have now," he says, "described the material part of the Cámara Santa. The spiritual and devout character which it derives from the sacred treasure which it contains, and the feeling which is experienced upon entering it, cannot be described without giving infinite thanks to our Lord that He has been pleased to suffer a wretch like me to enjoy it. I write this in the church before the grating, and God knows I am, as it were, beside myself with fear and reverence, and I can only beseech God to give me strength to proceed with that for which I have not power myself."*

With the exception of certain silver lamps, which have since been carried off, the Cámara Santa and its treasures are the same now as when Morales visited the spot more than 300 years ago.

Twice daily, at 8.30 in the morning, and 3.30 in the afternoon, a small procession, headed by two priests and an acolyte, is formed in the south transept of the cathedral for the purpose of visiting these holy relics. The priests go before uttering prayers in a low, monotonous voice, until the shrine is reached. The faithful, or others desirous to see the relics, follow after. As soon as the prayers are over, the acolyte, holding a lighted taper, points out and names the objects to those assembled, and a printed paper describing them is handed to each. The acolyte is somewhat apt to hurry over his oft-repeated task, and lingers no longer over genuine treasures than over doubtful bones and other reputed relics of saints and Apostles. The light, moreover, is barely sufficient to allow of a careful examination of what is most noteworthy, so that two or three visits to the sanctuary at least are advisable. The priests, however, are complaisant, and willingly allow a closer inspection of their treasures at the conclusion of the ceremony.

* From Southey, as before.



Essex in Insurrection.

By J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.

(Concluded.)

 HERE are, in the Public Record Office, various documents referring to this great insurrection of the people. One series entitled "Presentationes de Malefactoribus qui surrexerunt contra Dominum Regem 4 et 5 Ric. II.," relate entirely to Kent, and contain innumerable proofs of the leadership being in the person of an Essex man. For example, the twelve jurors of Downhamford, say upon their oath, "that Walter Teghelere of Essex, John Halis of Malling, William Hanker and John Abel, on Monday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity, in the fourth year, made insurrection against our Lord the King, and his people, and came to Canterbury, and made an assault on William Septvantz, Sheriff of Kent, and made the said Sheriff take an oath to them, and compelled the said Sheriff under fear of death, to deliver up the books, viz., the rolls of the Pleas of the county and of the crown of our Lord the King, and whatever writs of our Lord the King were in the custody of the said Sheriff, and they burnt fifty rolls and the said writs on the same day at Canterbury, in contempt of our Lord the King, and to the prejudice of his crown, and feloniously and traitorously broke into the Castle of our Lord the King at Canterbury, and caused to go free, John Burgh, an approver, Richard Darbye, a clerk, a convict, Agnes Jekyn, and Joan Hampcok, prisoners fettered and manacled in the said Castle, in contempt of our Lord the King, and to the prejudice of his crown." Also "on Monday, on the morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (8 July, 1381), in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second from the conquest of England the fifth, at Canterbury, before Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, and his associates." . . . The jurors on their oath say that, "on Thursday, on the feast of Corpus Christi (13th June), in the fourth year of King Richard the II. after the conquest, Stephen Samuel, John Wenlock, John Daniels,

Thomas Soles, John Taylour, Sachristan of the Church of St. John in Thanet, and John Bocher, clerk of the said Church of Thanet, by commission of John Rakestraw and Watte Tegheler, of Essex, made proclamation in the foresaid Church, and compelled a levy of the country there, to the number of two hundred men, and made them go to the house of William de Medmenham, and they feloniously broke open the gates, doors, chambers and chests of the said William, and carried away his goods and chattels to the value of twenty marks, and took and feloniously burnt the Rolls touching the Crown of our Lord the King, and the Rolls of the office of Receiver of Green Wax for the County of Kent." In the Coram Rege and Assize Rolls, the names of Essex men figure most conspicuously, the precepts to the Sheriff for the arrest and production of various persons implicated being very numerous, despite the charter of pardon granted by the King. "Richard, etc. — Know ye, that of our special grace, we have manumitted, or set free all and singular our liege subjects, and other of the County of Essex; and them, and every of them from all bondage do release and acquit by these presents, and also we pardon to our said liegemen and subjects, all manner of felonies, treasons, transgressions, and extortions, by them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever done or committed, etc. Witness the King himself at London, the 15th June, in the fourth year."

The opposition offered by the Barons and Knights to the terms of this charter induced the King to cause proclamation to be made in every city, borough, and market town as follows:

"Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Although in the late detestable disturbance, horribly made by divers of our liege people and subjects rising up against our peace, certain letters patent of ours were made at the importunate instance of the rebels, containing, That we have freed all our liege people, common subjects, and others of the several counties of our realm of England, and them, and every of them, discharged and acquitted from all bondage and

service; and also that we have pardoned them all manner of insurrections by them against us made, and all manner of treasons, felonies, transgressions, and extortions by them, or any of them committed; as also all outlawries published against them, or any of them on these occasions, or that we have granted to them, and every of them, our firm peace; and that our will was, that our said liege people and subjects should be free to buy and sell in all cities, boroughs, towns, markets and other places within the Kingdom of England; and that no acre of land which holds in bondage or villanage, should be accounted higher than at four pence; and if any were before held for less, that it should not be raised for the future. Yet for that such our letters did issue without mature deliberation and unduly, we well weighing that the grant of the said letters doth manifestly tend to the very great prejudice of us and our crown, and to the disinherison as well of us and the prelates and nobility of our said realms, as of the Holy Anglican Church, and also the damage and incommodity of the commonwealth; therefore, by the advice of our council, we have revoked, made void, and do utterly annul the said letters, and whatever hath been done or followed thereupon: willing that none, of what state or condition soever he be, shall any way have, or reap, or enjoy any liberty or benefice whatever of or by the said letters. For we will, and it is our intention, by the advice of our sound council, for the future to impart such grace and favour to all and singular; although they have grievously forfeited their allegiance, as shall be well pleasing and profitable to our realm, and with which our faithful subjects may reasonably hold themselves contented. And this we do notify to all persons concerned by these presents, commanding the same to be proclaimed in all cities and towns, villages, etc. And further, we strictly require and command that all and singular, as well free as bondmen, shall without any contradiction, murmuring, resistance, or difficulty, do and perform the works, customs, and services which to us, or any of their lords they ought to do, and which before the said disturbance were used to be done, without lessening or delaying the same; and that

they do not presume to require, pretend, or claim any other liberties or privileges than what they reasonably had before the said tumults. And that all such as have any of our said letters of manumission and pardon in their custody bring and restore the same to us and our council to be cancelled, upon the faith and allegiance in which to us they are bound, and upon pain of forfeiting all that to us they can forfeit for the future. In testimony whereof we have caused our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Chelmsford, the 2nd day of July, in the 5th year of our reign."

This revocation of pardon, given under the great seal, was followed by the taking in Essex of the most effective steps to secure the punishment of the participators in the insurrection.

In the Coram Rege Roll, Mich. 5 Ric. II., we find :

"*Essex*.—Precept to the Sheriff to search for numerous persons including Walter Carter of Billerica, from county to county, to summon them if not outlawed, or to take them if outlawed and to have their bodies before the King in the octaves of St. Michael, to answer to the King for divers felonies whereof they are appealed by divers approvers lately being in the King's castle of Colchester who are dead. They did not appear, and the Sheriff did not send the writ. A further precept was issued to the Sheriff to have their bodies before the King in the octaves of the Holy Trinity."

"Before Robert Tresillian and his associates, late justices appointed to hear and determine divers felonies, treasons and other misdeeds, it was presented by the jurors that John Hurt of Shobury and John Glassiere of Rocheforde, were messengers of the King's enemies to cause the township of Prytewell to rise against the King. Whereupon Ralph Spicer, William Chaundeler and others assembled together with the said enemies to cause the said enemies to rise. The said messengers came to the town on Thursday before St. Martin's day 4th Ric. II. . . . John Hurt acknowledges that John Syrat of Shobery commanded him to go to the said town to cause it to rise, and John Syrat acknowledges that Thomas Hillesdon commanded the said town to rise; which

indictment the King has caused to come to be determined, etc., and now on Thursday after the octave of St. Martin in this term the said W. Chaundeler comes before the King at Westminster, and rendered himself to the prison of the King's Marshalsea ; and being demanded how he will acquit himself he says that the King of his special grace pardoned him for the said felonies and treasons by his letters patent, which are recited. . . . They state that many of the King's people had risen in divers parts at the instigation of the Devil, but the King considering the good and faithful conduct of his subjects to his progenitors and wishing to temper justice with mercy, pardons William Croume of Pritwell *le Chaundeler* provided he be not one of the principals concerned in the said insurrection, or in the death of the Venerable Father Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, Brother Robert Hales, late Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, then the King's Treasurer, or John de Cavendish, late Chief Justice, or in the burning of the Manor of Savoye, or of the House of Clerkenwell, or in the death of the Prior of Bury. . . . And because the Court is not yet advised to allow the said Charter the said W. Crumme is dismissed by the mainprise of certain persons, who undertake to have his body before the King in the octaves of St. Hilary."

From Coram Rege Roll, Hilary, 5 Ric. II. :

"*Essex*.—The jurors of divers Hundreds of the County aforesaid formerly to wit in Michaelmas term before the King at Chelmsford presented that Richard Spaldyng of Teye Magna on the night of Friday after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist feloniously killed Edmund Videler of Badewe Parva at Teye Magna aforesaid, and the same R. Spaldyng had lands to the value of £3, and in chattels 100s., and now the same Richard has surrendered himself to the prison of the King's Marshalsea—whereupon he produces the King's letters of pardon which are recited. The King granted them, it is stated, out of reverence for God and at the special request of his Consort Queen Anne. The pardon is dated 26 January 5 Ric. II. The said R. is therefore released on finding four sureties."

M. 26.

"*Essex*.—Geoffrey Martyn Clerk of the Crown in Chancery by order of the Chan-

cellor delivers into Court the following record. Writ to Robert de Neuton, lieutenant of Alan de Bouxhill late Constable of the Tower of London, to certify the King of the cause of the detention of John Hermare or Hermer and Nicholas Gromard both of Havertyng atte Bour, in the prison of the Tower. The return to this writ shows that the persons above named were arrested at Gueldeford for that on Sunday after the feast of Corpus Christi they rose up with a great multitude of people in the county of Essex, and came to the house of William West at Clendon and there for fear of them and their fellows being at Kyngeston, as they said, they caused the said William to make to the said John an obligation of £20, and for that it was testified in the country that the said John and Nicholas acknowledged in the presence of many persons on the said Sunday as well at Clendon as at Gueldeforde that they were the first who rose up in the aforesaid county of Essex and that they were the first who came to the Savoye and there broke butts (*dolia*) of wine and did many other ill deeds."

"They were accordingly committed to the goal of Gueldeforde."

From Assize Rolls Divers Counties, 5 Ric. II. :

"Inquisition taken at Chelmsford on Tuesday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 5 Ric. II., before Robert Tresillian and William Morers, Justices of the Lord the King by the oath of twelve jurors, viz.: John Hobekyn, James Stokwell, Roger Colvil, John Beauchamp, Martin Stainer, John Gobyon, Laurence Stainer, Nicholas Michel, William Cut, Benedict Stubere, John Onywand, and John Aldewyn, who say.—That William atte Stable, late servant of Geoffrey Dersham, Thomas Spragg and many others of Southbemflete, Thomas Treche of La Leye, William Bocher and others of Hadleg, Peter Pekok of Bures Giffard, and Henry Flecher and others of Reilég, on Wednesday next after the feast of Holy Trinity, 4 Ric. II., were leaders and maintainers continually and wickedly at the Manor of Geoffrey Dersham of Bernehalle in Dounham and there feloniously and treasonably took and carried away five oxen of the price of five marks, three bulls of the price of twenty shillings, one

hundred and sixty sheep price sixteen pounds; and brass pots [and] pans and other goods and chattels of the same Geoffrey to the value of sixty shillings; and also they broke and overthrew the houses of the same Geoffrey of the Manor aforesaid, and feloniously took and carried away one hundred and twenty capons of the price of forty shillings. And also they all rode about armed in a land of peace with the multitude aforesaid, who rose up against the King and his lieges, to the temple of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem to Cressyng, and to the house of John Sewall of Coggeshall and overthrew the houses and the buildlings of the same Prior and John, and feloniously took and carried away their goods and chattels there found. Also John Sawyere of Rawreth and Thomas Maude sexteyn of Fobbyng rose up with the company aforesaid. Also that John Wiltshyre of Burstede Parva, on the Friday following cut off the head of a certain Esquire of the Duke of Lancaster, called Grenefeld, of his own will and without compulsion of any one person, in the city of London. They also presented that—Ralph atte Wode of Bradewell with others, on Monday the morrow of the Holy Trinity rose up against the King in unlawful congregations as the King's enemy and was at Cressyng Temple and there broke and overthrew the houses of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and took and carried away his chattels there, and also thus continuing his malice in divers parts of the county of Essex he went with his company and burnt the books of divers Lords, and also he overthrew the houses of John Ewell Escheator of the King, and feloniously took and carried away his goods to the value of one hundred pounds. Also that the same Ralphe voluntarily and feloniously rose up against the King's peace together with others of his company with force and arms and went to the Temple of Cressyng and there overthrew the house there, and took and carried away armour, vestments, gold and silver and other goods and chattels to the value of £20, and burned books to the value of twenty marks. . . . Afterwards that he went to Coggeshall and there overthrew the house of John Sewall, Sheriff of Essex, and took and carried away gold and silver with other goods and chattels to the value of ten

pounds. . . . Also on the same day he was at the house of Edmund de la Mare in Peldon, and broke and overthrew the said house and carried away goods to the value of Twenty Pounds. . . . Also he was a common leader of the perverse company of insurgents, and went to the house of the said Edmund with the said company and despoiled him of all his goods and chattels, and they despoiled and carried away a writ patent of the King with all the muniments touching the office of Admiral upon the Sea, upon a gallows from the said house to 'La Milende' next London and so back to the said house in contempt of the King and of the office aforesaid. . . ." Ralph is committed to prison with the others in charge of Robert Bracey the King's Marshall.

"Inquisitions at Chelmsford on the Wednesday after the feast of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul before the same justices and a fresh jury who presented a vast number of persons of the vills of Fobbyng, Frenge (Vauge), Wokyndon (Ockendon), Barkynge, Horndon, Mokkyng, Reynam, Stanforde, Corryngham, Thurrok, Grey and Alnedeleyn (Aveley)"—presentment not finished.

"On the same day, and at the same place before the said justices, another jury presented that John Geffrey, the bailiff of Esthanyngefled caused all the men of the vills of Esthanyngefled, Westhanyngefled and Southanyngefled, to go against their wills to the Temple of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England. . . . That he summoned certain persons to meet him at the church of Magna Badewe, to go against the Earl of Bukyngham and others. . . . That he also went to the Bishop of London's park of Crondon, and caused the men of the vills of Esthanyngefled, Southanyngfeld, Westhanyngefled, Wodeham Ferers and Retyngdon to swear that they would ride against the king whenever he (the bailiff) summoned them."

"Essex."—Inquisitions at Chelmsford on the Thursday after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul before Robert Tresilian and his associates when it was presented that numerous other persons of Fobbyng, Stanford, Mukkyng and Horndon, with a certain weaver dwelling in Billerica, and one John Newman of Rawreth, a common thief, and many other men of the vills of Rammesden, Warle,

Herwardstok, Gynge, Bokkinge, Goldhangre, Reynham, Welde, Benyngton, Gyn atte Stane (Ingatstone) and Billerica rose up against the king and gathered to them many malefactors and enemies of the king, and made 'congregations' at Brendewode on Thursday after the Ascension, 4th Rich. II., and made assault on John Gildesborough, John Bampton and other justices of the peace with bows and arrows, pursuing them to kill them, and afterwards on Monday the morrow of Holy Trinity they went to Cressyng and broke and rooted up the Prior's houses, and took away the Prior's goods. Also on the same day they broke the houses of John Sewall, Sheriff of Essex at Coggessale and took one thousand four hundred marks in money of the same John's; and afterwards they rode about armed in a land of peace and did many ill deeds. Inquisitions were also held at Haveryng atte Boure, and similar presents made."

The dreadful results of these proceedings, the revocation of the letters patent granting pardon, and the consequent executions, accompanied in many instances by the infliction of the most fearful and utterly unnecessary torture, are familiar to us all; right well did Robert Tresilian and his associates wreak the vengeance of the nobles upon the unhappy misguided insurgents. The gallows and the block in every town confirmed the spirit of the proclamation: "Villeins you were and are, and in bondage you shall remain."



Old Winchester Hill, Hants.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

MOST HAMPSHIRE tourists know this very striking spot at the western end of the South Downs, overlooking the Meon Valley. On the other side of the valley is "Beacon Hill," the frontier of the great range of downs which extend in one direction towards Wilts, and on the other towards Winchester. On Old Winchester Hill is a clearly-defined ancient camp, popularly known as the "Ring." The site of the camp on two sides, north and west, ends almost precipitously: on the

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south the slope is gradual, but very long; on the east it is connected on the level with the range. So that, in fact, this camp is in a bold natural bastion, conspicuous all round for miles: you can even see it from Portsdown. Now, I have heard it strenuously contended, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, that this, and no other spot, was the real Clausentum of the Romans, and the disputant had got up his case well, his towns, and his distances. He did not convince me, it is true, for it seems to me that the case for Bitterne as Clausentum is much the strongest of any.

That the camp is not Roman but British may be a question open to debate, but I believe that Mr. T. W. Shore, the clever secretary of the Hartley Institute at Southampton, the best authority that I know on Hampshire antiquities, has made out a conclusive case for the British opinion, and this, without reference to the inferential argument which I am about to adduce. He holds that it was a fortress (its situation would make it an almost impregnable one), to which the inhabitants of the valley betook themselves, with their belongings, in times of invasion. The valley below, the Meon, is a very interesting spot, on which I may have something to say hereafter. That the Romans made use of the camp is certain, for a few coins have been found on and near it.

And this spot is named "Old Winchester." The popular belief is that the ancient capital of the county stood here. Camden refers to this belief in his *Britannia*. When I was a boy we were told that the City of Winchester was begun there, but that each night the fairies, or the devil (for authorities differed on this point), carried off the buildings into the valley of the Itchen, and after a few months the builders had to acquiesce in the arrangement. I am not clear whether I ever believed this theory; at any rate, I do not believe it now. But, then, how to account for the name? Here is the explanation, unless somebody will offer a better one. We all hold that Gwent of the Belgians was so named because of the white faces of the chalk hills which surround it, and that it became in course of time Wentchester—white fortress. But there was another Caer Gwent, namely, the spot before us now, named in

like manner from its white face, visible far and wide, as I have already said ; and this, too, became by the same process Wentceaster. So then there were two Winchesters : the one a wind-swept hill, without a house upon it, or the remains of one ; the other, the capital of the great kingdom of Wessex. To differentiate them, the epithet "Old" was applied to that which was left lonely and deserted ; the origin of the name was forgotten, and the theory about the removed city was invented to account for it.

W. BENHAM, F.S.A.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Books in the Elizabethan Era.—The subject of books in England at the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, of books which Shakespeare and other intellectual giants of the time may have read, continues to be one of exceeding interest, and last year a few more references were forthcoming. These occur in the *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield House*, and are valuable *addenda* to those already published in the *Calendar of State Papers* belonging to that period, many of which were brought together, classified, and printed in the *Bibliographer*. The first is a note of the examination of William Bremmycham, of Gray's Inn, who states that, hearing that Creagh was a prisoner in the Gatehouse, he went and offered to get him anything he lacked ; afterwards taking to him clothes and books—Eusebius' Chronicle, and Bible prayers in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In the succeeding document he further states that the prisoner gave him 10s. to buy the books, giving the titles, Eusebius' History, *Promptuarium Latinum*, *Precationes Bibliae*. Under date 1576 we have : "An additional declaration by the Queen on the subject of a pamphlet printed at Milan, entitled *Novo Aviso*, in which she is charged, not only with ingratitude to the King of Spain" (who, according to the author, saved her life when justly sentenced to death in her sister's time), "but also with an intended attempt against the life

of the said prince." In 1577 Guillaume Silvius writes to Lord Burghley, and recalls the kindness of his lordship ten years before, when the writer dedicated to Elizabeth his work, *Rerum Anglicanum libri quinque Authore Guilielmo Neubrigensi*. He desires to obtain privilege from the Queen that no one in England may print his *Justifications*, which he is at present engaged in issuing by consent of the States - General, in several languages, and, amongst others, in English. He sends copies to the Queen and to Burghley. In a report to Burghley, dated in 1578, touching the melting of bullion, reference is made to a book of *Lapidary Science*. In 1582 Thomas Nicholas writes to Lord Burghley : "The bearer hereof is the printer that printed the little treatise of *Cæsar and Pompeius*, which I presented to the Right Hon. Lady Anne, Countess of Oxford ; and he it is that hath spent some money to print that little pamphlet which I sent to your honour at Windsor, touching the *Monastical Life in the Abbey of Marshalsea*. The thing will terrify all the Papists in England. If it seem convenient to your honour, it may please you to permit him to have the printing thereof."

Who Discovered America?—The following is extracted from the *Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, November 28, 1888 : "Miss Marie Brown, who has devoted a number of years to the study of the Norse claims to the discovery of America, and who, by her books and lectures, has done much to further those claims, will lecture, December 5, at Baer's Hall, Chicago and Milwaukee Avenues, under the auspices of Leif Erikson Lodge, on 'From the North Cape to Bergen.' Later in the month, and under the auspices of the combined Scandinavian societies, she will lecture at Central Music Hall on 'The Norse Discovery of America,' the same subject on which she spoke so acceptably last fall before the Historical Society. Miss Brown is prosecuting an active campaign in behalf of the Norse claims, and will lecture in the Scandinavian settlements in the North-West up as far as Manitoba. In the meantime she is securing signatures to a petition to Congress, asking that a celebration of Leif Erikson's discovery of America in A.D. 1000 be incorporated in the approaching centennial cele-

bration of the adoption of the Constitution. The Scandinavian members of Congress will push the claims of this before that body. Since coming to the city Miss Brown has heard of the proposed celebration of the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, to be held in Chicago in 1892, and is very enthusiastic over a plan to substitute Leif Erikson for Columbus, and make it a viking celebration. She favours this location rather than Washington, as being so near to the great Scandinavian settlements, which would naturally be peculiarly interested in the celebration doing honour to their viking ancestors. In addition to other attractive features which Miss Brown has already projected, will be a grand fête presentation of the play entitled 'The Viking,' recently published by a dramatist of this city. Miss Brown has published a book entitled *The Icelandic Discovery of America*, the intent of which is to prove from documentary evidence that Leif Erikson was the first discoverer; that Columbus, a crafty man, stole his information on a visit to Iceland in 1477, and that knowledge of the new world, originally discovered by an Icelander, was kept secret by the Church of Rome. Miss Brown has had a long residence in Scandinavia, and has become well acquainted with Scandinavian literature. She has a strong sympathy with the people of these northern countries and their achievements. Her enthusiasm in their cause, and desire to see the claims of their early explorers righted, have led her to knock at the door of the archives of the Vatican, where it is her belief there are manuscripts which will throw a flood of light on the subject which she is pursuing. It appears that some years ago the Rev. Father Moosmuller, now of Savannah, Ga., published in Bavaria a work on the Bishops of Iceland and Greenland. He collected the material for his book in Rome, and it was he who referred Miss Brown to the Vatican for the authentic data she desired. To this she has received no answer, but she intends to make personal researches in the Vatican library next year. The idea of an Icelandic Exhibition carries with it the erection of a Viking Hall according to a plan submitted by Miss Brown, who last year presided at the Norse exhibit at the American Exhibition in London. 'The proper setting,' writes Miss

Brown, 'for antiquities from the Viking Age, is a Viking Hall of that period, bearing a perfect resemblance to those in which kings and warriors sat, on festive occasions, surrounded by hundreds of guests, listening to those wonderful improvisations of the Skalds that have immortalized the Northern race.'

Errors of the Press.—In the diary of John Hunter, of Craigcrook, it is recorded that at one of the meetings between the diarist, Leigh Hunt and Carlyle, "Hunt gave us some capital specimens of absurd errors of the press committed by printers from his copy. One very good one occurs in a paper, where he had said, 'he had a liking for coffee because it always reminded him of the "Arabian Nights,"' though not mentioned there, adding, 'as smoking does for the same reason.' This was converted into the following oracular words: 'As sucking does for the snow season!' He could not find it in his heart to correct this, and thus it stands as a theme for the profound speculations of the commentators."



Antiquarian News.

MR. TALFOURD ELY proposes to give at Hampstead a course of six lectures on the "Sources of Greek History," with special reference to coins and other existing monuments.

Mr. G. W. M. Arnold, of Milton Hall, Gravesend, has added to his museum of local antiquities some 1,300 Roman coins, discovered from time to time during the last thirty or forty years in the fields adjoining Springhead, near Southfleet, the site of the Roman Vagniacæ. They comprise an almost complete series from Augustus to Arcadius and Honorius, with a few Consular.

With the exception of the railing round the monument, the work of renovating the Eleanor Cross at Waltham has been completed. Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter, a well-known sculptor, had charge of the work, and under his care the monument is now capable of standing for another long term of years. The original parts have been carefully placed in their proper positions, and, with the substantial work of the newer parts, the memorial will, it is stated, last another 600 years. Among the original pieces of

carved stone which are now in the cross are several pieces which for years had been buried in the walls of the Falcon Hotel, and some pieces which had been dug out of the foundation when excavating some time ago. The original cross which surmounted the monument, and which, it is supposed, was broken by Oliver Cromwell, is now in the hands of one of the Restoration Committee. In 1832 it was discovered embedded close to the monument, and from it Mr. Clarke, the architect at the restoration of 1832, designed the cross that at present surmounts the structure. The original cross is much chipped and otherwise damaged, caused no doubt by the ruthless manner in which it was thrown down, and by exposure to the weather. Should sufficient funds be obtained, it is intended to re-erect the railing so as to prevent the lower part of the cross from damage.

A splinter of Barnack stone, with some Roman letters carved thereon, was found on December 3 in the excavations of the north-east angle of Peterborough Cathedral. It was recognised as belonging to a stone found some time ago in the south transept, and which was unquestionably Roman. When put together, the splinter matched exactly, and helped to form the letters L O T E, and half a letter, O or C ; underneath are the letters N O, both evidently being part of some inscription. The stone and the splinter were found amongst Norman work, and had doubtless been used with neighbouring fragments from the remains of the earlier Saxon church, in which building it had been used as a quoin. From the size of the stone, 18 by 15 inches, it doubtless originally formed part of some large inscription-plate on a Roman building, either at Castor or Peterborough. Dean Perowne and others have taken in hand the task of elucidating the inscription, and for this purpose the very rev. gentleman journeyed to Cambridge to hunt up the Roman inscriptions preserved in the college there.

At Anjou a herd of cattle have made a wonderful discovery. While on a walk across their grazing ground they vanished suddenly from the sight of the cowherds, and were afterwards discovered in what seems an ancient subterranean village. The ground under the cattle had given way, landing them in a mysterious place of dark dens and winding galleries. Stone seats have since been found in the place, and fragments of black pottery, hatchets of polished stone, and other articles are now being brought to light.

"It would be a mistake," says Jacobi, "to believe that we are more mediæval than other nations. The measures for relieving the dangers from the cruel attacks by the ambushing teeth upon the unsophisticated baby, prove better than anything else how the

maternal (and professional?) minds have been impressed by awe-stricken faith down to the second half of the nineteenth century. According to H. H. Ploss, in different parts of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland they resort to the following measures: The tooth of a colt a twelvemonth old is worn round the neck at the time of the increasing moon. The paw of a mole, bitten off, is sewed in (a bag) and worn round the neck, the baby to be licked by dogs. The head of a mouse is used as the paw of a mole. Every female visitor gives the baby a hard-boiled egg. The baby is carried to the butcher, who touches the gums with fresh calf's blood. The gums are touched with the tooth of a wolf, or with the claw of a crab. The baby is supplied with three morsels from the first meal in the new residence after the wedding ; bread from the wedding feast of a newly-married couple in good repute ; a mass of lind sprouts cut at twelve o'clock on Good Friday. A bone found by accident under the straw mattress. Mother, when first going to church after confinement, kneels on right knee first. A man coming to visit is silently given a coin, touches the gums of the baby three times, and—goes to the tavern." All these customs in cultured Germany, in the nineteenth century !—*The Hospital*.

Mr. H. F. McLeod, of the Smithsonian Institute, said recently, in speaking of ancient American tools, that carpentry was the trade of aboriginal Americans. He said : "The Indians and the mound builders had a very good idea of wood-working. You will see even now some very pretty joining done by Sioux Indians. Their tent poles make a fit which many a white carpenter would not like to try to better. The Aztecs knew how to make a very good and manageable glass, and their best cutting blades, swords, daggers, and spears, saws, chisels, and axes were made of it. When the edge dulled, they broke it from the end instead of sharpening it, and got a new cutting line. You can see a great deal of aboriginal carpentry still in use among the Moqui Indians of the United States. They know how to make ladders, and they swing their doors on hinges from the top, and they know how to mortise timbers—knew how long before Columbus landed in America. The chisel they push rather than hammer, and they work the board up and down on a fixed saw, rather than the saw on the board ; but withal they get creditable results. The framework in the Pueblos is quite as honest as anything we have in America."—*The American*, Philadelphia.

Some old Irish silver was sold in London on December 15, and remarkable prices were paid. Here are some of the quotations : The chalice and paten of the Abbey of Murrisk, dated 1724, at 28s. 6d. per oz. ; a salver on foot, Cork-made plate, 1693,

26s. oz.; a covered two-handled caudle cup, chased in bold relief, dated 1675, £2 16s. oz.; a punchbowl, seventeenth century Cork work, 36s. oz.; a muffiner of eighteenth century Cork work, 27s. oz.; a helmet-shaped ewer, *circa* 1700, 32s. oz.; a dessert-spoon, Irish, *circa* 1700, 42s. oz.; a circular sugar-basin, decorated with pastoral subjects, 30s. oz.; a chocolate pot, George I. period, 27s. oz.; a seal-top spoon, 1659-60, £3 10s. oz.; a muffineer, pillar-shaped, 1690, £2 11s. oz.; a paten, on foot, dated 1692, 43s. oz.; and a covered box, on three feet, from the Tobin collection, Amsterdam, eighteenth century, 25s. oz.

A correspondent recently sent to the *City Press* the following extract from the *Times* of October 18, 1788: "We hear there is to be a grand gala day at Paddington on Monday. A large tent is to be fixed in the middle of the green, in which is to be an elegant collation for the entertainment of the Bishop of London, who is then expected to lay the first stone in the foundation of a new church intended to be built there. The plan of the church may be elegant, as it is taken from a drawing in the last exhibition, but it is a very extraordinary one, for it will look more like a house of entertainment, or a meeting-house, than a parish church; and, what is more surprising, the situation fixed upon for the erection is in a wet swampy spot of ground, and the bell is to be fixed in the centre of the roof. One would think that reason and commonsense had forsaken the inhabitants of the parish to give the management and direction of this business into the hands of Methodists and of those who attend the Lock Chapel. However, it is to be hoped that no English Bishop will ever consecrate a building so much unlike a church, and so much resembling a Methodist conventicle, into which in a short time it may be turned, to the disgrace of the ministers of the Established Church."

One of the most important and valuable specimens of old Burgundy sculpture has just been acquired for the Louvre Museum. This is the tomb of Philippe Pot, the Grand Seneschal of the Duchy of Burgundy, who died in 1494, which is said to be a very ornamental monument indeed.

A letter from Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., representing the Huguenot Society of London, was published in the *City Press* of November 28, on the subject of the Memorial to the Refugees at Canterbury. Mr. Kershaw writes: "It is proposed to erect a stained glass window in Holy Cross Church, Canterbury, where so many refugee inscriptions and memorials exist, and which may truly be called the Campo Santo of Huguenots in Kent. In the parish of Holy Cross, many of them lived and plied their

weaving trade, and the registers of that church abound in foreign names. To commemorate the first visit here of the Huguenot Society of London in 1887, but more especially to perpetuate the memory of those who were driven from their homes in France, after the cruel persecutions of St. Bartholomew in 1572, and again in 1685, this special appeal is made. Some good sums have been obtained, but much more aid is wanted, and small sums only are asked. London has always been foremost in aiding even those outside its limits, and recognising the merit of all who brought industrial talent within its walls. When the silk-weaving died out in Canterbury, it was only transferred to a more thriving centre in Spitalfields, and there are still many London citizens found to claim kinship of their ancestors who developed the skilled labour of Eastern London. Surely, then, in the descendants of those who first claimed Canterbury as a 'city of refuge,' and who afterwards migrated here, should a hearty response be found to my appeal. We read that the Corporation of London encouraged the early attempts of the silk manufacture, and that in 1607 they admitted one Robert Thierry, for his skill in the same, to the freedom of the City. When past history shows how, in this capital, 'the strangers,' as they were called, found a welcome and freedom of religious opinion, it is earnestly pleaded that the old spirit which actuated the citizens then will find its echo now in answer to this cause—a cause deeply identified both with that picturesque cathedral city, so well known to all, and with this vast metropolis, which received the Canterbury refugees in their new home of labour at Spitalfields. Donations should be sent to Mr. J. M. Cowper, 3, Gracechurch Street, or to Mr. Kershaw, at St. James's Road, Wandsworth Common."

It appears from a paragraph in the *Times* of December 13 last that the former burial-ground of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, situated in Camden Street, and consecrated by the Bishop of London in 1805, has recently been taken over by the Vestry of St. Pancras for the purpose of laying it out as a recreation-ground and public garden, they having obtained a faculty for that purpose, and at the present time a large number of men are employed in re-arranging paths, etc. In this ground is buried Charles Dibdin, the well-known author of naval songs. At the general quarterly meeting of the St. Pancras Vestry, held on December 12, a recommendation was received from the Works Committee, and unanimously adopted, that a proposal from Mr. J. P. Fitzgerald, honorary secretary to the Dibdin Memorial Fund, to improve the tomb, be accepted. It is proposed to construct in stone (or, if sufficient money is raised, in polished marble) the midship section of an old line-of-

battle ship, 25 feet by 15 feet, showing bulwarks and portholes, on the deck line of which will be placed the tomb, some 5 feet or 6 feet from the ground. At present only £100 has been subscribed. The chairman of the fund is Mr. Sims Reeves; the treasurer Mr. T. E. Gibb, vestry clerk; and Mr. J. P. Fitzgerald, of 178, Kentish Town Road, the honorary secretary. On the committee are the members of Parliament for the four divisions of St. Pancras, Miss Ellen Terry, Mr. August Manns, and many others in the dramatic and musical world.

The members of the Huguenot Society of London held their first meeting of the winter session in November. Sir H. W. Peek, Bart., who presided, read an article on the subject of the refugees in Norwich, containing a review of the account of the Walloons in that city in Mr. C. J. Neven's interesting work published by the society. A paper by Mr. H. Mallett Godfray, of Jersey, on "The Early Refugees in the Channel Islands," was also read by the hon. secretary, Mr. R. S. Faber. The society has recently completed the history and registers of the Walloon church at Norwich, and is now proceeding with those of the old French churches at Southampton and Canterbury.

The workmen engaged in removing the ruins of the old Back Row, Newcastle, are making rapid progress, but at present the expectation of discovering relics has been disappointed.

The sale of Mr. Robert Marsham's collection of coins in December last produced upwards of £8,000. The most notable feature of the collection was the Petition crown (Charles II.) of Thomas Simon, for which Mr. Marsham gave £86 at the Yorke More sale in April, 1879, but it now realized no less than £280. A Cromwell fifty-shilling gold piece (1656) fetched £180. Every important specimen realized considerably more than Mr. Marsham had paid for it.

In 1873, the Marquis of Ripon, at the suggestion of the late Mr. Burgess, began to have a full set of drawings, sections, and plans of Fountains Abbey carefully prepared. The work was entrusted to Mr. J. Arthur Reeve, architect. Mr. Reeve has now brought them up to date, including the most recent excavations carried out in 1887-8, under the superintendence of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. These drawings, comprising forty-seven plates, are being reproduced by photo-lithography, and will shortly be issued to subscribers, with a brief descriptive account of each part of the abbey.

A Roman pavement, composed of red tile and white stone, was discovered last December at Furze-

brook, near Wareham, and about a mile from Corfe Castle, Dorset.

The Prince of Wales recently paid a private visit to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and replaced in the vault containing the coffin of Charles I. certain relics of the monarch which had been removed during some investigations more than seventy years ago. These relics having ultimately come into the possession of the Prince, his Royal Highness decided, with the sanction of the Queen, to replace them in the vault from which they had been taken, but not to disturb the coffin of the King. This task was successfully accomplished in the presence of the Dean of Windsor.

A North British newspaper states that while several labourers were at work repairing a drain in East Buchanan Street, Paisley, one of them found a gold coin which seemed to be of ancient date. The markings are indistinct. It is irregular in shape, and weighs over 4 dwt., and is slightly smaller than a sovereign.

The historic ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, near Leeds, which were offered for sale in December at the Cardigan Estates sale, were subsequently sold by private arrangement to a number of gentlemen of Leeds for £10,000, and the Abbey House for £3,500. The ruins, which are enclosed in twelve acres of land, will be retained for the use of the public.

On the rocks of a hillside along the road leading to the sanctuary of *Æsculapius* at Epidaurus have been discovered a series of prehistoric tombs of great importance, as they prove that such remains are scattered all over Argolis, for they are just the same as those recently laid bare at Nauplia and Mycenæ. Of the seven tombs opened so far, one has an avenue of six mètres long, closed at two mètres distance from the door by a wall of large stones. On breaking open the sepulchral chamber it was found to be a circular grotto, four mètres in diameter and two in height. Four skeletons were here found lying on the ground with their heads towards the walled-up doorway, which was due east. A vessel of the Mycenaean epoch was found at the head at the right side of each of the skeletons, and near one was a bronze lance-head well preserved. In another of the smaller tombs was found the skeleton of a woman with a bronze fibula and two whorls.

Francesco Florimo, librarian of the Conservatoire at Naples, and the principal agent in enriching that institution with its precious store of autographs and MSS., died on December 18. He was the composer of many songs, the historian of the Neapolitan school of music, and an intimate friend of Bellini.

At a recent sale of autographs at Berlin, a musical manuscript of Mozart, dating from 1782, was sold for 555 marks; and a letter from Lessing, apparently written during the Seven Years' War, fetched 500 marks.

A curious ring has been entrusted to a London jeweller for sale. It is an engraved diamond ring, once the property of the Queen of Delhi, and is said to have been preserved for many generations in the treasury of the Mogul Emperors. The most remarkable feature of the ring is a central diamond bearing a monogram of two Arabic words, meaning "O Ali." If its owners are correct in ascribing this to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, it is probably the oldest engraved diamond of which anything is known.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland.—Oct. 3.—Several interesting antiquities were exhibited. The collection included spear-heads, arrow-heads, the Charter given by James II. to Cashel, and the illuminated arms of the corporation of that time. Through the kindness of the Dean of Cashel the members were enabled to inspect the church plate which was given to the parish in 1667 by Archbishop Ussher; a silver flagon belonging to the parish of Cashel, which was made in Kilkenny in the year 1726; a chair, of which two were made in the year 1668, 220 years ago, for two guineas (for the lot); the seal of the corporation of Cashel; the seal of the Dean and Chapter of Cashel, Chapter of Emly; a silver flagon made in 1607, etc.—Mr. Cochrane exhibited a very fine collection of photographs, double-plate size, forty in number, illustrating this remarkable group of ecclesiastical buildings known as the "Rock of Cashel," and some finely executed drawings showing the magnificent architectural details of the wonderful pile. Mr. Cochrane gave the dimensions of the round tower as follows: Height from base to bottom of cap., 77 feet; from base of cap. to apex, 14 feet 6 inches; total height, 91 feet 6 inches; diameter at base, 17 feet 2 inches; diameter at top, 13 feet 6 inches. He also drew attention to this remarkable fact, that at Rattoo, County Kerry, the dimensions of the round tower there are almost identical with that at Cashel, the height at Rattoo being 77 feet 3 inches from base to bottom of cap.; 13 feet 6 inches from base of cap. to apex, that is, a total height of 90 feet 9 inches, being only 9 inches shorter than at Cashel. There can be but little doubt that the builders of both intended them to be identical in size, and this is the only instance on record of two round towers being so like, as they are generally found to be most divergent in measurement, ranging from the smallest at Teampul Finian, which is only 60 feet in height, to the tallest, measuring 119 feet high, at

Kilmacduagh.—At the evening meeting Mr. Day read the following paper: "Through the courtesy of J. C. Bloomfield, Esq., D.L., of Castle Caldwell, County Fermanagh, I have the honour to exhibit a stone axe which he has presented to me, that was found on his property during the past summer. It is remarkable, and as far as I can learn unique, in the fact that a large portion of the original gum, or mastic, in which the timber handle was imbedded, remains upon its surface. This mastic is of a dark-brown colour, and burns with a clear flame, producing an aromatic perfume, and leaving a liquid gelatinous residuum. I have had no opportunity of getting it chemically analyzed, but to illustrate its mode of attachment, I have brought an axe from Western Australia, which is secured to its handle in a similar way. This Fermanagh celt was used as a wedge, probably for splitting timber, because the cutting edge is equally bevelled on both sides, and the base of the implement is flat, and has clear and well-defined marks of having been struck with a hammer or mallet. It is 5 inches long and 3 inches wide, and measures 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the head. It is made of hard green sandstone, and is of the type usually found in the locality. The handle gripped it round the centre, where there is a slight depression, which is filled with the mastic, leaving the cutting edge and head quite free. To further illustrate this, I have brought some other examples from Ireland that are polished, except in the centres, which are roughened to more firmly hold the handle; and a small collection from Switzerland, New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, New Guinea, the Andamans, the Lamberi, etc., all of which are secured in different ways, and will show how possibly the various forms of stone implements were handled in a remote period in this country."—Mr. Day also read a paper on the "Silver Mace of Castle-martyr Corporation," and also one on the late Dr. Caulfield's collection of MSS.—Mr. J. D. White read a paper on "Illustrations of National Proverbs, Common Sayings, and Obsolete Words and Customs."—A paper was received from Mr. Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A., on the "History of Ennis Abbey, County Clare—1540 to 1617."—Mr. W. J. Bennie, C.E., A.B., Trinity College, Cambridge, contributed a paper on "The Geology of the North-east Coast of Ireland, as a basis for Archaeological Research."—Mr. George M. Atkinson, West Brompton, London, sent a description and drawings of ancient iron cannon, found at Passage West County Cork—breech-loading—used for firing stone shot.—"Ancient Folk-lore—the Irish Ox-fly"—was the title of a paper written for the meeting by Mr. Cecil Woods, of Chichester, county Cork.—Mr. George Dames Burtchaell, B.L., LL.D., contributed a paper on "The English Navy in 1588."—On the following day the members visited different places of interest in the district, including Athassel Priory, Holycross Abbey, etc.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Oct. 31.—Dr. Bruce, president, drew attention to Mr. Hodge's account of the Abbey Church at Hexham.—Mr. John Philipson submitted a paper on "The Vitality of Mummy Wheat and Seeds taken out of the Wrappings of Egyptian Mummies." He said it might be remembered that at the monthly meeting of the society, on September 28 last year, some conversation which passed between the chairman and the late Captain

Robinson came near reviving the far-famed controversy respecting the germinating possibilities of mummy wheat in the same manner that it had been renewed by Professor Judd at the Geological Society early in the summer of 1886. He confessed to a more than ordinary interest in the subject, as he was aware of some instances of reputed mummy wheat having been successfully grown in their own locality ; but as he was not one of those who venerated the story simply because it was old, he set to work to collect such evidence as might explain two problems that presented themselves—1st, Would seeds retain their germinating powers during a period of 2,000 or 3,000 years ? and 2nd, Had plants ever been raised from such seeds ? The whole matter turned upon the character of the seeds which had been discovered in the folds of mummy wrappings. He had ample proof that plants had been raised from such seeds, not only in the South of England, but in this neighbourhood, and it only remained for the spurious or genuine nature of these seeds to be decided to set the matter at rest. It was, of course, impossible to obtain absolute proof in such a matter, but there were those who had not hesitated to assert that the Arab with his characteristic cunning had placed modern seeds within the folds of the mummy cloths. Nothing was easier than to make a declaration of that kind. Crafty though he might be, the Arab would not take the trouble until he knew that there was something to gain by it—*i.e.*, until he had heard of the finding of the genuine seeds and the interest evoked by their discovery. There were, however, three cases in which the receptacles—two sarcophagi and a vase—could not possibly have been tampered with, and the knowledge of these encouraged him to follow up the subject, with the result that he was able to lay before them what he considered sufficient evidence to prove that what was known as mummy wheat had been raised from seeds more than 2,000 years old. The conditions under which the seeds of mummy wheat had been found were in the highest degree favourable to the preservation of the dormant state—with perfect exclusion from the action of the oxygen of the air, and from moisture in a climate the aridity of which it was well known must have conduced to the preservation of the vital power of the seeds, which, though having the life-germ very close to the surface, and but thinly protected, were known to yield an extremely hardy plant, whose vitality was not easily destroyed. Senator Batalha Reis had reminded him that one of the most celebrated of French horticulturists said he did not believe in the possibility of the germination of grains of wheat kept for 2,000 years, but he at the same time noted without contestation the fact of the preservation of germinative powers of seeds for upwards of a century. After instancing cases where seeds had been germinated taken from graves of ancient Britons and from graves of Romans, etc., Mr. Philipson went on to say that no fewer than fifty-nine species of flowering plants raised from mummy wrappings in Egypt had been identified. Mr. Philipson then proceeded to deal with cases where wheat plants—entirely different from all known cultivated kinds—had been raised from mummy wheat. One instance related was that in which seeds were taken from an ancient tomb in the Thebaid by Sir Gardiner Wilkin-

son, and plants raised from them. In another instance, a sarcophagus was brought to England by the Duke of Sutherland, and seeds, which were taken from it ; on being planted, germinated. The mummy presented to the Literary and Philosophical Society, now in the museum, was unwrapped on March 8, 1830, and some seeds taken from it were sown, and germinated. The mummy presented to the museum by Mr. Thomas Coates, Haydon Bridge, October, 1821, was still unopened, and he looked forward to the day when it might be opened. In conclusion, he expressed his indebtedness to Mr. Macdonald, of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, and Mr. Dawson, for references to several leading authorities, and to others who had rendered him valuable assistance.

Nov. 28.—Dr. Bruce presided.—The secretary said he had received from Mr. R. J. Johnson a present of curious old relic—the knob that used to be on the vane of Hexham Abbey Church.—Mrs. Hodgson Huntley presented to the society two copper plates, one of the Roman station Pons Elii, the other of the tower of St. Nicholas's Church.—A copy of the catalogue of the library at Bamburgh Castle was sent to the society by Lord Crewe's trustees.—Mr. Charles Liburn, Sunderland, a member of the society, presented an ancient tusk found in Yorkshire.—Mr. Maberly Phillips read a paper on “Another Disused Graveyard : the Quicks Buring Plas in Sidgatt.” Mr. Phillips thought the burying-ground had been on what is now known as St. Thomas's Street, on the site of the hay and straw establishment of Messrs. Slater and Co.—Dr. Bruce said in 1806 he became an occupant of the house adjoining the burial-ground. He was then ten months old. The site was very different from what it is now. Between the house and what was now the Circus there was a nursery, and gardens ran up to the Leazes. On the other side of the house, instead of the present public-house, there was a small cottage. It was quite a rural spot. The graveyard was turned into a garden, and he had eaten the peas grown in it.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—Nov. 7 : annual meeting.—The President, Mr. T. Cornish, read a paper on the ruins unearthed by the society at St Buryan last year. After giving full particulars of the manner in which the attention of the society was drawn to the matter, and of the explorations which ensued, Mr. Cornish said that it was much more easy to say what the sanctuary is not than what it is. The two northern chambers are 42 feet long, and 20 feet long by 12 feet wide. The corresponding southern chambers are of the same length, but only 5 feet wide. It certainly was never built for domestic or agricultural purposes. For his own part, he did not think it was ever used or intended for ecclesiastical purposes of any sort, and he considered that its probable use was as a smelting works for the stream tin found in its neighbourhood. He advanced this opinion with diffidence, and was quite prepared to hear it successfully controverted ; but as the only shred of sanctity about it appeared to be its name, he reminded the society that amongst printers there was a certain conclave known as “chapel,” possibly an analogous case.—Mr. Bolitho combed the conclusions of Mr. Cornish. He had always heard of a sanctuary at St. Buryan, and

thought that this must have been it. It was probably the residence of the Dean and Chapter.—Mr. W. S. Bennett supported Mr. Bolitho's theory. It was known that there was formerly a sanctuary at St. Buryan, and that the chaplain had £200 a year, which was a very good income in earlier days. Nothing had been made out to show that these remains had ever been smelting works. Such works were in the days gone by on a very limited scale, and he was inclined to believe that the buildings in dispute must have been a sanctuary. He only wished that they could have found the means to dig out the whole of the foundations, for he felt that his idea would then have been clearly proved.—Sir Warington Smyth described a ball of granitic material found in the "sanctuary."—Mr. Courtney, M.P., pointed out that the supposed sanctuary was a mile from the church, and argued that this was a fatal objection to the theory favoured by Mr. Bolitho and Mr. Bennett.—The Rev. A. H. Malan read a paper entitled "Parson Rudall and the Botathan Ghost."—Mr. G. F. Tregelles read a portion of a paper by the Rev. S. Rundle, of Godolphin, on "Cornish Proverbs."—The President read a paper on the inscribed stone at Bleu Bridge. A rubbing of the much-discussed inscription had been prepared by Miss Fanny Marland, and a copy of this was displayed in the room. The inscription, said Mr. Cornish, was represented for the first time by a late member, Mr. Edmunds, who made it out to be "Quenatavus Iodinui filius." To get at this reading the antiquary had to assume that three horizontal lines which occur after the last "V" means "us," and that an "H" in the third line was really "LI." The rubbing prepared by Miss Marland destroyed the three lines theory, substituting for them a very curious form—something like a very rude and imperfect "S" surmounted by a straight line. Mr. Cornish had searched seven Latin alphabets, ranging from 186 B.C. to 694 A.D., several Greek alphabets, and many others, and could find nothing like it. He had therefore come to the conclusion that this part of the inscription is a local contraction utterly insoluble to us, and must be left to our successors to decipher it as archaeologists and not as antiquarians.—Mr. Courtney, M.P., said that for his part he was very unwilling to give up the interpretation which Mr. Edmunds had put upon the inscription.—The President said that in view of a resolution submitted to the Council on October 12, with special reference to the British village of Chysauster, it was his duty to move "That this society views with regret the damage, wilful or accidental, that has been done to the ancient monuments and buildings in our neighbourhood, and it specially requests the members to make to the honorary secretary individual reports in writing of the state of any ancient monuments or buildings within their personal knowledge; these reports to be laid before the Council, who shall take such steps as may deem advisable to repair past and prevent future injury." Mr. Cornish knew that all the landowners in the locality were well disposed to the protection of these ancient monuments, and any damage done to such remains was done without their knowledge and consent. If the resolution were adopted and acted upon, the society might call the attention of owners to the condition of the monuments

on their estates, and might in this manner be the means of rescuing many of them from injury, if not from destruction. The resolution was agreed to.—Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., was elected President for the ensuing year.

Banffshire Field Club.—Nov. 15.—A paper was read by Rev. William Temple, F.S.A., Scot., St. Margaret's, Forgue, on "The Family of Gordon, Haddo, and Methlick—now represented by the Earl of Aberdeen." Mr. Temple gave a very exhaustive account of the genealogy of the family from the first representative down to the present time.

Craven Naturalists' Association.—November meeting.—The Rev. E. Jones read a paper on "Cave-Hunting, and the Results of the Recent Explorations at Elbolton Cave," in the course of which he stated that in an address to the same society last year he pointed out that the cave at Elbolton, near Grassington, was probably well worthy of exploration, and Whitaker, in his "History of Craven," had referred to it as having been probably the home of some ancient brigands—though he thought there was little exception in that, for our forefathers were mostly brigands. During Easter week of 1888 the society made a special visit to the cave and commenced digging. Since that time investigations have been carried on intermittently, with highly satisfactory results. The lecturer compared the yields of the Elbolton and the Victoria Caves (near Settle), and told the history of the latter, as evidenced by the bones, weapons, and implements found, and the beds wherein they were discovered. While the Victoria Cave had probably been used about the time of the Romans, the Elbolton Cave belonged to a much older period, and had not been used in Roman times, as no bronze articles had been discovered. Professor Miall had informed him that bronze articles would probably be found, but he (the lecturer) thought now this was improbable, as the cave was only used before the bronze period. The length of the main chamber was 100 feet, the average height 18 feet, but in some portions 30 to 40 feet high. From the main chamber there branched off a long passage, difficult of access, the floor of which was covered with clay. The floor of the main chamber was covered with *débris* from the roof and clay washed in from the passage. A trench was dug at a certain point in this *débris*, and it was hoped the floor would be reached in 2 or 3 feet, but although 10 feet had been reached, the floor had not yet been discovered. Among the number of bones found were a human jaw in good preservation, which showed that the possessor had used it well, and probably suffered little from toothache. Later on another jaw was found by Mr. J. W. Davis, hon. secretary of the Yorkshire Geological Society, and then more human remains. The human bones showed these were the remains of three individuals, three right femurs or thigh-bones being discovered; and the fact that at the depth of 10 feet from the surface calcined bones with charcoal were found showed that men lived in the cave. Some sharp-pointed bones which were sent up to Oxford for identification, we were told, were tattooing instruments. Pottery had been found, the character of which was strong proof of the age of the cavern. Tusks of wild boar were not uncommon, and a horn was found which was probably that of the reindeer, while bones of birds were very numerous.

The lecturer then stated the method it was intended to adopt in further carrying out investigations.

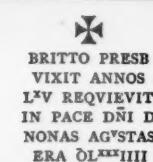
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—October 29, 1888.—Professor A. Macalister, M.D. (President), in the chair.—The President exhibited some specimens of Roman pottery found in the excavations made for building purposes on the Madingley Road. The most perfect of these was a fragment of Samian ware with a figure of a deer. Nearest the surface a silver half-penny of Edward III. was found. Most of the pottery was found in a pit of black earth, evidently the trace of an old excavation in the gault.—Mr. J. W. Clark exhibited a skeleton of a red deer (*Cervus elephas*), lately mounted by his assistant, and placed in the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. The bones were found in December last in a deposit of peat at Manea, on the estate of William Wiles Green, Esq., who kindly presented them to the University. This skeleton is the largest, of a full-grown animal, yet found in a complete state, measuring four feet from the ground to the top of the dorsal spines. A skeleton of an adult Scotch stag, exhibited by the side of it, measured only 3 feet 4 inches.—The President remarked that the late Professor Jukes described and figured in the proceedings of the Geological Society of Dublin a skeleton of a red deer of unusually large size from Bohoe, co. Fermanagh, and with fourteen pairs of ribs. Another very large red-deer skeleton from co. Limerick is in the National Museum of Dublin.—Mr. Green mentioned that a bronze coin of Vespasian had been found in the immediate vicinity of the deer-bones, and invited members of the society to come and co-operate with him in investigating the spot.—The Rev. E. G. Wood read a paper on the University at Stamford; the chief points advanced in it were as follows: The claim advanced for Stamford was not that it had ever in the strict sense been a *Universitas*, i.e. in accordance with Savigny's definition, a University (or Corporation) of Persons as distinguished from a University of Studies; but it was claimed that Stamford was a *Studium Generale*, not that that implied that all the faculties existed there, though reasons were given why it was probable that Theology and Philosophy, Canon Law and Physics were taught, and that there was a Faculty of Theology and a Faculty of Arts, and that degrees were conferred. Reference was made to the legends, which assigned a very high antiquity to the University life of Stamford. The authentic record related but to a period of about eighty years at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries: during that time not only a *Studium Generale* but halls and colleges also were in existence at Stamford. The earliest was the Carmelite College founded by Henry de Hanna, the second Provincial in England. The next was Sempringham Hall, founded by Robert Lutrell in 1292. This was especially for students of the order of the Gilbertines. There was also Peterborough Hall, Black Hall, Vauldry Hall for students of the Cistercian Abbey of Vauldry (*De Valle Dei*) near Grimsthorpe, Brasenose College, and St. Leonard's Priory dependent on Durham and the abode of the northern students. (At this time none but Peterhouse had been founded at Cambridge.) Remains existed of many of these buildings, as well as of what were probably the Public

Schools until the last century; now nothing remains except the gateway of Brasenose (a full century earlier than the Oxford Brasenose) and St. Leonard's Priory. The names of many of the Stamford doctors were given. A manuscript of the commentary on the *De Disciplina Scholarum* ascribed (erroneously) to Boetius by one of these, William Whetely, is in the library of our own Pembroke College; and another copy, though apparently not entirely identical, at Exeter College, Oxford. Anthony-a-Wood, after examination of the contents of the Commentary, pronounces it to have been prepared for University-teaching, and from it concludes that Stamford was a *Studium Generale*. The same fact could be argued from the existence of a book of "Determinations" by another Stamford Doctor, William of Lidlington. This was a clear indication of men having incepted at Stamford. The lectures on *The Sentences* was another indication. The great impetus to Stamford University life was given by the secessions from Oxford and Cambridge. The last, however, so alarmed Oxford that the Stamford *Studium* was forcibly suppressed in 1335 by Royal authority. Both Oxford and Cambridge at the same time enacted a form of oath, to be taken by all inceptors against any University-teaching or recognition of degrees granted elsewhere in England. The Oxford oath specifically mentioned Stamford. The memory of the University of Stamford however lingered on for a considerable period. It is mentioned both by Harding and by Spencer, while many have recalled Merlin's prophecy:

Doctrinae studium quod nunc viget ad vada Bovum
Tempore Venturo Celebrabitur ad vada Saxi.

November 19.—The President exhibited and described a fragment of an Egyptian *Stele* belonging to Mr. Dodgson, of Ashton-under-Lyne. It consists of the head of a female, and on the edge of the stone it is inscribed with "Horus, son of Isis, the Goddess worshipped in the Amenti, the Mother Goddess Lady of Heaven, may they give." On the back there are only portions of four lines of the inscription, which read thus: (i.) "His Son Causes his name to live;" (ii.) "Thebes, to the *Ka* (spirit) of the Great Artist;" (iii.) "May they receive cakes, To go in and out;" (iv.) "With offerings in the Feasts in Kar-neter." The character of the inscription is coarse, probably of late date, and contrasts well with that of a stone of much earlier date also in Mr. Dodgson's collection, of which photograph was exhibited. This second stone was a way-mark, and is dated in the twenty-eighth year of King Amenemha, may he live for ever. "Direction (or District) of the Mer-Menfit (the chief soldier) chennu (Priest) Mentuhetep 32 cubits." There are some curious things about this small stone: 1st, that for the purposes of symmetry and to fit the name in the line the *n* is left out, and the terminal *u* is intercalated between the *ch* and the *nu*, to prevent the two round letters being put together. The *nn* also is long-necked, as very commonly is the case in early inscriptions. Mentuhetep was a common name in the time of Amenemha; there was a priest of that name who married Sebekaa, and had a son, Maxiba, and a daughter, Amenesa. Another priest, who lived in the twenty-eighth year of Amenemha, was the son of Setu and Asa. This Mentuhetep may have been either of these.—Professor J. H. Middleton made the

following remarks upon an altar-cloth from Lyng Church, near Norwich, lent by the rector, the Rev. C. Jex-Blake. This is a very interesting example of what was frequently done in parish churches during the Reformation, namely, the conversion of priests' vestments into hangings for the altar or pulpit. This altar-cloth, which measures 6' 9" x 3' 8", consists of a sort of patch-work of three different copies, all dating from the fifteenth century. I. The greater part is made of a cope of blue velvet, which was ornamented with a *semé* pattern of cherubim, seraphim, double-headed eagles displayed, and conventional flower. Of the seraphim (distinguished by having *six* wings) only one remains, holding a scroll inscribed "Gloria in Excelsis," and standing on a wheel. The cherubim, of which there are two, are similar in treatment, except that they have only *four* wings. Traces of the hood of the cope remain, cut up into two separate patches. The orphreys of this cope were ornamented with a series of single figures of saints under arches, alternating with square conventional patterns. These have been cut into separate patches, and are arranged side by side to form borders to the cloth; instead of being, as originally worked, one over another. The subjects are: (i.) A prophet holding a scroll; (ii.) St. Olave crowned, holding a halbert and sceptre; (iii.) St. Paul holding a sword; (iv.) on the other border, St. John Evangelist holding a golden chalice; (v.) and (vi.) two other prophets; (vii.) the Apostle St. Philip holding three loaves. No. II. was a cope of crimson velvet, ornamented with half-length figures of prophets—only one remains holding a scroll with his name, "Daniel." Marks of two other similar figures remain. No. III. a vestment of orange velvet, ornamented with the common *semé* pattern of conventional flowers, of which four exist, cut into square patches. One piece only of the orphrey remains, with a fine representation of the Crucifixion between St. Mary and St. John. The three sorts of velvet are all from foreign, probably Italian, looms; but the needle-work ornaments in silk and gold are of purely English work and design. All the ornaments are worked on linen tightly stretched on a small frame; when the needle-work was finished, stout paper was fixed with size to the back of the linen to prevent fraying of its edges, and it was then cut out to the required outline, and sewn on (*appliquéd*) to the ground. The figures on the orphreys consist of two thicknesses of linen—the ground being worked with silk on a long strip of linen, and the figures *appliquéd* in a similar way, thus giving greater richness of effect by the slight relief produced by the double thickness of linen. The gold thread is made in the usual way by twisting a thin gilt ribbon of silver tightly round a silk thread. The spangles and the crown of St. Olave are of pure gold. The crown is beautifully made by sewing small bits of shaped gold on to the stuff, making a sort of gold mosaic. All the gold has a slightly rounded surface, giving great richness of effect, by the way in which it catches the light, and conceals the thinness of the metal.—Mr. Gadow made the following observations upon an early Christian Inscription, found at Mertola in Portugal, which had been kindly presented to the Society by Mr. T. M. Warden, an official of the Mina de São Domingos, South Portugal.



Mr. Warden discovered this stone in a garden near Mertola, two feet below the surface: nothing, not even the remains of bones were found in this grave. In the immediate neighbourhood of Mertola, the old *Myrtilis Romanorum* on the right bank of the Guadiana, is an extensive burial-ground, containing many graves, some of which are hewn into the rock. They all point east-to-west, and are as a rule covered over by some rudely-shaped stone slabs; most of them contain bones in rather bad state of preservation, but very rarely ornaments and specimens of pottery. On this ground stands an old church, no longer in use, and not far from it a modern church and cemetery. The inhabitants of Mertola have no traditions about the old graves, but they call them *Sepulturas dos Gothos*, Gothic graves, and are rather indifferent as to their treatment. The present stone is very similar to another one, which was found likewise at Mertola, and which is now in the Museum of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. Dr. J. C. Bruce draws special attention to the fact that both these stones consist of pure white marble, none such marble slabs having been found in Britain. Britto is a name still in use in Portugal as a surname, it occurs also in its female form as Britta. Probably it is a contracted form of Brigitta, recognisable as the English Bridget. The word AGUSTAS is not owing to a misspelling, but shows that in those early times, when the Priest Britto died, there was already made the distinction between the name of the month and the surname—in modern Portuguese Agosto and Augusto. The surname Augusto, by-the-bye, still occasionally retains in Portugal its old original meaning of the august one, the word being sometimes thus applied to persons of rank by country folk. It is well known that the date of the Spanish Portuguese era is 38 years ahead of that of the Christian era, consequently the date of this stone corresponds with the year 546 of our reckoning.—Professor E. C. Clark, in commenting upon the inscription *seriatim*, remarked that *Britto*, which was to be found in earlier Spanish inscriptions as *Brito* and *Briton*, might be a *cognomen* representing British extraction, like the Jersey names Le Breton and Le Normand. The symbol after the letters *PRES* he had at first taken for the "leaf-stop," but was now inclined to consider the *B* of *Presbyter*, with a line of abbreviation drawn across it. The letter *D* before *NONAS* with a similar transverse line, he regarded as an abbreviation for *dies*. The accusative *NONAS* ought strictly to depend upon a preceding *ante*; but he cited an instance where *dies* was similarly used with the accusative *Idus*, and he believed that the accusative had become quite irrational, and that *dies nonas* meant merely on the day of the *nones*. *AGVSTAS* he was disposed to regard as merely a misspelling of *AVGVSTAS*. Of the origin of the curious word *Era* he wished that Professor Skeat could give them a more satisfactory explanation than was as yet

known. The word had come, at the date of this inscription, to be used simply in the sense of *annus*, as frequently by Isidore in his *Chronicon*. The actual epoch dated, as they had been told, from the year 38 B.C.; according to some, from the assignment of the province of Spain to Octavianus in the tripartite division of the Roman dominions between him, Antonius, and Lepidus. The year, then, of this inscription would be 584-38 or 546 A.D., a time undoubtedly in the old Visigothic domination. As an instance of the vague antiquity which Mr. Gadow had represented the Portuguese as attaching to the term Gothic, he might mention the singular derivation of *Hidalgo* from *Hijo d' al gó*, "Son of the Goth."—Mr. Gadow observed that another explanation of *Hidalgo* is *Hijo d' alcun*, *Son of somebody* (in opposition to Son of a nobody). Son of the Goth would be *Hijo d' el Gó*. The Portuguese word *Fidalgote* seems to bear out that suggestion, but ...ote is a not unfrequent ending, like the French ...âtre; *Fidalgote* therefore meaning *gentilâtre*.

Essex Archaeological Society.—October 19.—Meeting at Coggeshall. The site and remains of the Cistercian Abbey were examined, and Mr. G. F. Beaumont read a paper on the history of the Abbey. The exact date of the foundation is uncertain. Parco Lude speaks of 1137, Weever (from the book of St. Austin, in Canterbury) says 1140, Lelane 1141, while Tanner mentions 1142 as the date, and in this he is followed by Dugdale, who quotes from a chronicle of Coggeshall, in the Cottonian Library (sub effigie Neronis D. 2), to the following effect: "In the year 1142, the Abbey of Coggeshall was founded by King Stephen and Matilda his queen. In the same year the Convent came together at Coggeshall, III. Nones of August." The most liberal patron of the Abbey was Matilda, who endowed it with the Manor of Coggeshall, one of the estates she inherited as heiress of the house of Boulogne. The grant was confirmed at Coggeshall by Stephen, in the presence of his Queen and their son Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and of others, and was subsequently further confirmed by William, Earl of Boulogne, and Warren, another son of Stephen and Matilda. Matilda also granted the monks at Coggeshall an exemption from all toll and other customs, throughout all the lands belonging to her, and her son Eustace, both in England and Boulogne. King Henry II. confirmed to God and to the Holy Mother of God, Mary, and to the Cistercian Monks all the manor of Cokesdale, where the Abbey is situated, and to the same Church, what they have of Toleshunt of the fee of Geoffry de Tregoz, of the fee of Geoffry de Magnaville at Neweshales, of the fee of Baldwin de Rouel, and what they possess in the lands of Moldeburne, and in the marshes of Hely. This grant was confirmed by Henry II., in the eighteenth year of his reign. William Filiol gave to the Abbot and Monks of Coggeshall one acre, one rood, and two perches of land "lying near the rivulet from the spring of Stokewelle, on the East of the Abbey." The name of Filiol or Folio occurs in the Roll of the Battle Abbey, 1066, among the names of the warriors who fought under the banner of the Conqueror. On the seal of the grant by William Filiol to Coggeshall Abbey is a representation of a font, with a King on one side and a Bishop on the

other, holding a child as in the ceremony of baptism, from which it is supposed the family had a tradition of this surname (fileul, a godson) having been given at the time of baptism to one of their ancestors, by one of the Kings of England. Baldwin Filiol had an estate at Kelvedon in or about the reign of King Stephen, and it continued in the family of that name for several generations, and from Filiol's Hall is corrupted the present name of the property, Felix Hall. King Richard I. by charter commanded that the brethren of this Abbey and all their men and things be quit at fairs and seaport from toll and passages, postage and pedage, and every other custom and secular exaction, for all things which they should buy or sell or cause to be carried away throughout every place under the King's authority by land or by water to their proper use, and no one was to vex or disturb them, for the King acknowledged that he held them and theirs in his protection and custody, and any who should vex or injure them or theirs could not look for his Majesty's protection. King John on January 10, 1243, gave the Abbot and Monks of Coggeshall the advowson of Childerditch. King Henry III., in 1251, granted a license for the Monks to enclose their woods and heaths at Tolleshunt Mayer (Major), Tolleshunt Tregoz, Inneworth, Childerditch, and Warlegh Selmoll, with a small ditch and low hedge, according to the rule of the forest. In 1250, King Henry granted to the Abbot and Convent that they might have a fair for their Manor of Coggeshall every year to continue eight days on the eve and on the day of St. Peter ad Vincula and six days following unless that fair was prejudicial to neighbouring fairs. It will be noticed that the fair commenced on the feast day of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1), the patron saint of the parish church. The annual fair in 1728 was held on Friday in Whit-week, it is now held on Whit Tuesday. Then, again, Henry III. in 1256 granted to the Abbot and Convent of Coggeshall the right to hold a market at Coggeshall every week on Saturday with all liberties and free customs belonging to such market unless that market was damaging to neighbouring markets. The market, such as it is, is now held on Thursday, the day having been probably changed on account of the presentation in the tenth year of Edward II. that the Abbot held a market on Saturdays at the village of Coggeshall to the detriment of that at Colchester. After mentioning bequests to the monks, the paper stated that Edward III. granted one pipe of red wine to be received each year at London at Easter by the hands of the gentlemen of the wine cellar. William de Hamberstane with other persons in the 51st Edward III., gave to the Monastery the Manor of Tillingham Hall in Childerditch, Dodinghurst, and Southwelde. A chantry was founded by Joan de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, and Margaret, the wife of Sir Hugh de Baden, and others. The value of the estates of the Abbey in 1291 appears, from a taxation of Pope Nicholas, to have been £116 10s. per annum, a very large sum in those days. The Liber Valorum (Henry VIII.) gives the clear value at £251 2s., but Speed, who was doubtless referring to the gross value, gives the income at £298 8s. The seal of the Abbey attached to the surrender in the Augmentation Office is sound, and bears the Virgin and child seated under a rich canopy, with a group of females praying. On

each side of the Virgin, in base, is a double shield, one bearing the arms of the Abbey, namely, three cocks and the legend—" *Sigillum commune Ecclesie, Monasterii de Coggeshall.*" The Abbey was surrendered on February 5, 29 Henry VIII. The general plan of most of the Cistercian monasteries was of the same design, varied only by the peculiar circumstances of the situation, and such being the case we may to some extent learn the ichnography of the conventional buildings at Coggeshall. The Abbey is reached by the road leading from the town of Coggeshall to Kelvedon, and the lane at the top of Grange Hill strikes out at right angles to the east. At the end of this lane the gatehouse doubtless stood, with the almonry and chamber above for the lower class of guests on the south side, while on the north was, and still is, the little chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas. Into this chapel the guests were taken by the Abbot, and after a short service were handed to the hospitaller, whose duty it was to see that they were properly entertained. Forming the north side of the plan was the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the western facade of which presented itself to the traveller as he passed along the Abbey Lane. This magnificent building was opened for divine service in 1167. Although no fragment remains of this great building, its foundation lines may easily be traced in a summer, and were plainly visible in 1878. The Rev. W. J. Dampier in 1865 estimated the nave to be 141 feet by 24 feet, the chancel 34 feet by 24 feet, and the north and south transepts 31 by 24 feet each, and the Lady Chapel beyond the chancel 31 by 24 feet. The foundation walls were about 5 feet wide. He (Mr. Beaumont) had in his possession a large brick, found on the Abbey Farm, and having a circular face. If this brick formed part of a pillar of the church, it gives the columns a diameter of about 4 feet. The tower was probably a central one, low and without hovels and pinnacles. The crucifix, but no other carvings or representations of saints were allowed, the windows were of plain glass and the candlesticks of iron, precious metal and ornamentation being avoided by this order as far as possible. After the dissolution of the Monastery, St. Mary's Church was pulled down, and tradition in Holman's time (nearly two centuries ago) said that the bells were carried to Kelvedon. The materials of this grand building, even to the foundations, were doubtless utilised for road-mending and similar purposes. After describing the probable situation of the extensive monastic buildings, Mr. Beaumont concluded by giving a description of St. Nicholas Chapel.

British Archaeological Association.—The first meeting of the session was held on Wednesday, November 21, the chair being occupied by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. Mr. C. Lynam exhibited a singular flat plate of copper on which were engraved two seal-like medallions, one representing David with the harp. It is of thirteenth-century date, and was found in Staffordshire. Mr. Harris described some remarkable interments which have been found in the chalk near Havant. They consist of pit-like cavities, twenty feet deep and four feet square. At the base are traces of burnt matter and bones. Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited old engravings of the great seals of William and Mary, and of William III. Mr. Earle Way de-

scribed a large number of fragments of Roman pottery, recently found near St. George's Church, Southwark. Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., exhibited a magnificent thirteenth-century cross, of brass, with Limoges enamel and jewels. It is the property of Mr. Conrad Cooke, and is in perfect preservation. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a fine series of antiquities, among which may be noted: a vase found near Bethany, an impression of the Great Seal of Charles I., old miniatures of Charles I., and many personal relics of William III. A paper was then read by Dr. Joseph Stevens, of Reading, on an Early British Cemetery, which has recently been discovered and excavated, at Dummer, Hants. The site is at Middle Down Field, 555 feet above sea-level, and close to an ancient trackway leading from Winchester to Silchester. The bodies had been burnt, and the ashes arranged in rough hand-made urns, inverted over the remains. Fourteen or fifteen urns have been found at a distance of only a foot below the present level. There were no signs of any tumulus. The second paper was by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. (Scotland), on Personal Relics of King William III., the subject having been chosen since this year is the 200th anniversary. The paper described a vast number of rings, books, and other articles formerly belonging to the King, now in various collections.

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.—November 22. Meeting at Mercers' Hall.—Behind the master's chair there was a fine display of plate belonging to the company, including several very interesting specimens of the early gold and silversmiths' art, and these were described by Mr. Watney. There was the grace cup and cover, ornamented with maidens' heads and flagons, the badges of the company; round the cover and cup are bands of blue enamel, with letters of silver:

"To elect the Master of the Mercerie hither am I sent,
And by Sir Thomas Legh for the same intent."

This is hall-marked 1499-1500. Another interesting and beautiful object was a silver-gilt tun or wine-barrel, with waggon, formerly belonging to the college of St. Thomas of Acon; this work is of the early fourteenth century. The master's hammer is of ivory, about three hundred years old, and two staves of the company are of the time of Queen Anne. On a table in front of the master were two precious documents under glass, namely the original ordinances of Whittington College, illuminated (the drawing having been done with a fine pen) the date being 1424; Whittington, very emaciated, is lying on his death-bed, and by the side are his three executors, a priest, and a group of figures besides. There were likewise the original ordinances of Dean Colet for St. Paul's School, with a portrait of the dean. There was also shown to the visitors a beautifully-executed deed of conveyance (belonging to Mr. W. A. Longmore) relating to property in the parish of St. George, Eastcheap, dated 1394, in the seventeenth year of Richard II., attested by the then Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, one of whom was Richard Whittington. A paper was read by Mr. J. Watney, on "The History of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon," which formerly stood on the site occupied by the hall, and Archbishop Thomas à Becket was born in a house which stood on ground now covered by Mercers'

Chapel. Mr. E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A., followed with a paper on "The History of the Mercers' Company, and its Eminent Members," prefacing it with the remark that it was twenty years since the society met in the hall, and all the four gentlemen who read papers on that occasion had since died. The Mercers are first in the order of precedence of the twelve great City companies, and they had their first royal charter in 1394. They had, however, been associated voluntarily at a much earlier period for mutual aid and comfort. Under the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, a member, they were associated with the Corporation in the management of the Royal Exchange. They are largely represented on the board of governors of St. Paul's School (founded by Dean Colet), of which they had the entire management for upwards of three hundred and fifty years; are the trustees of Whittington almshouses at Highgate, and many others bequests and gifts. Among other illustrious members of the company at the present time is Lord Selborne, the late Lord Chancellor. In 1814, Field-Marshal Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief, whose ancestors were Mercers, was admitted to the company, and a sword which belonged to him is preserved at the hall. The Prince of Wales was admitted in 1863.



Obituary.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE death of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has caused keen regret in a circle of friends and acquaintance which was exceptionally wide even for so eminent a man, owing to his free and open nature and ever-ready response to all who sought him as students, or appealed to him in the name of Shakespeare from all parts of the world. If ambition were the motive leading to this result the sentiment has been amply realized, for it is impossible to be interested in the national poet and dramatist without becoming indebted to the labours of Halliwell-Phillipps; the immortality of Shakespeare ensures the remembrance of his loving biographer. But a personal knowledge of him whom we deplore dissipates the supposition that he sought his own glory by his labours. He was the ideal, single-minded, and devoted student. He gloried in his "rarities" and relics, because they were of Shakespeare, but he was only too self-deprecatory, and spoke ever humbly of his own literary work. His labour was of love, and his devotion in the nature of sacrifice. His death came with some suddenness. Nearly two years ago, he expressed to us his conviction that his working days were over, and his intention of confining himself strictly to the completion of matters in hand relating to Shakespeare. During the past summer he came to his London residence for the purpose of carrying out some researches at the Record Office, and while in town was taken ill. He rallied, however, and in the early days of last November was able to walk from Hollingbury

Copse to the sea-shore and back, chatting over his illness and various literary matters.

From the sympathetic, and in every sense excellent, notice of the distinguished antiquary which appeared in the *Athenaeum*, we venture to extract the following passage, which skilfully summarises his life's work:

"He was born in Sloane Street in 1820, and as early as 1839, when he was a scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, he had begun that long career as author and editor which he continued with unabated zeal till nearly the close of his life. When one looks over the list of his works one begins to recognise the amount of our indebtedness to him, for though the world was of late years apt to regard him as a student of Shakespeare and of nothing else, his range was wide, and nothing antiquarian was alien from him. In fact, his first publication was *Rara Mathematica*, a collection of ancient treatises on mathematics, and he followed up this line of study with his *Letters on the Progress of Science in England from Elizabeth to Charles II.* As early as 1839, he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries. He had also—an uncommon taste for an undergraduate of those days—a habit of spending his time among the manuscripts of the university library and the college libraries, and the result was a volume, published by Dodd in 1841, on *The Manuscript Rarities of the University of Cambridge*. In the same year he edited *Naval Ballads* for the Percy Society; his first Shakespearean publication, an essay on the character of Falstaff, was due to the same year, and two years afterwards he began contributing to the publications of the Shakespeare Society. His pleasant *Nursery Rhymes of England*, which appeared in 1845, made his name known to a wide circle of readers, and his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* secured him the gratitude of all lovers of English literature. Halliwell was not a scientific philologist, and never pretended to be one, but this book and his edition of Nares's *Glossary* were highly serviceable to students of our early literature for the wealth of material they contained in days long before the Dialect Society existed, and when such helps were few and scanty. In 1848 appeared *The Life of Shakespeare*, his first essay in what was to be more than anything else the task of Halliwell's life. It was followed by the magnificent edition of Shakespeare in folio, which he published by subscription. This splendid work is a wonderful monument of the editor's industry, even if, as he himself said in later life, the execution was unequal and some plays were more thoroughly edited than others. Most men would have been contented with such a feat of labour, yet during the years when it was passing through the press he edited some Early English miscellanies, printed *Hand-lists of Early English History in the Bodleian*, brought out his *Dictionary of Old English Plays, Notes of Excursions in North Wales*, and a similar volume on Cornwall, and busied himself about the purchase of New Place, and in the formation of the Shakespeare Museum. His growing interest in the life of Shakespeare led him to this latter undertaking. He lavished his time and his means on Stratford; he went through the town records, searched every private collection of papers he could get hold of, and toiled unremittingly for the slightest scrap of evidence that would throw

light on the life of Shakespeare. As he himself remarked, he fairly ransacked every corner where anything about Shakespeare could possibly be found."

But it is by his wonderful collection of Shakespeare Rarities that Halliwell-Phillipps will perhaps be mainly remembered. In the printed *Calendar* of these, there are 804 items, classified (1) early engraved portraits, (2) authentic personal relics, (3) documentary evidences regarding Shakespeare's estates and individuals associated with his biography, (4) artistic illustrations connected with his personal history, (5) printed Shakespeariana.

In the first division, and perhaps the *pièce de résistance* of the collection, was the Droeshout portrait, in its original state, and before it was altered by an inferior hand to the debased form in which it is familiar in copies of the first folio. To the last, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps continued to collect, spreading notices far and wide, stating that he was willing to purchase Elizabethan documents and literature, and emphasizing at the same time what he did not want to buy. The result was the magnificent collection whose destiny was the second and anxious thought of every antiquary on the announcement of the death of the distinguished collector.

The provisions made for the future of the collection are curious. None of these will go to the nation, except in the event of a certain bequest being refused by the University of Edinburgh. To that University he bequeaths his literary correspondence bound in about three hundred and more volumes, and lettered *Letters of Authors*, which include a large number on Shakespearian subjects, and from which, he says, "is eliminated everything that can give pain and annoyance to any person," and all the manuscripts and books described in a printed pamphlet entitled *An Inventory of certain Books and Manuscripts, including Notes for Shakespearean Researches preserved at Hollingbury Copse (1887)*. He directs that these are to be delivered by land conveyance and not by sea, and, in the event of the University declining to receive them, he gives them unconditionally to the trustees of the British Museum. The copyright of his work, entitled *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, is left on trust, to be sold by public auction for the benefit of his wife and his daughter, Katherine Elizabeth Walcot. He gives all his electro-plates, electros of wood blocks, and wood blocks, to the Shakespeare Society of New York. His magnificent group of sixty folio volumes containing his collections from 1854 to 1887 on the life of Shakespeare and the history of the English stage, and also all the unbound papers indicated, are to be safely deposited until they can be sold for £1,200 or more, or if such price cannot be obtained in the course of twelve years, they are to be sold by auction in one lot, for the benefit of his wife and daughters then living. Previous to the exhibition for public sale, no intending purchaser is to inspect the collections until he has deposited £1,200 at the Bank of England, to be returned in the event of his declining to purchase. The intending purchaser is to be accompanied by at least two of the trustees, but no one else, excepting one official of either the British Museum or the Public Record Office. "Whereas," the will proceeds, "my collection of Shakespearian rarities described in a printed catalogue entitled *A Calendar of*

the Shakespearian Rarities Preserved at Hollingbury Copse, near Brighton, 1887, is unrivalled and of national interest, and being desirous of its being kept in this country, I direct my trustees to offer it to the Corporation of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick (where, as the leading town of Shakespeare's native county, such a collection would be appropriately located), on condition of the said corporation paying for it to my trustees the sum of £7,000 sterling." In case of the corporation not accepting this offer within one year of his decease, the collection is to be deposited until it can be sold for £10,000, or, if not sold within twelve years, is to be sold in one lot by public auction. The proceeds in either case are left in trust for his wife, his four daughters, and his nephew, Mr. Ernest Edward Baker, solicitor, of Weston-super-Mare. To guard against applications from curiosity, and to save his trustees trouble, any intending purchaser is first to deposit the purchase-money in the Bank of England, and there is the same provision for inspection as relates to the collection of volumes and papers above mentioned. To his nephew, Mr. Ernest Edward Hart Baker, he leaves the whole of his printed books and manuscripts not otherwise specifically bequeathed, with the proviso that his wife may select for her own use fifty volumes printed after the year 1800.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps died on January 3, and was interred in the churchyard of the parish church of Patcham, a little rural suburb of Brighton, at the foot of the South Downs on the high road to London, that being the parish in which his estate of Hollingbury Copse is situated.



Correspondence.

A MARRIAGE REGISTER.

The parochial registers of St. Maurice, St. M. Kalendre, and St. Peter Colebrooke, Winchester, are in good preservation, and date back to 1538 as to burials, 1539 marriages, and baptism 1560. The rector, the Rev. F. R. Thresher, has kindly permitted a perusal to me, and I send the annexed quaint effusion of Richard Osman, aged 67, who either had experienced a practical "Taming of the Shrew," or had, like Socrates, his Xantippe, and had written this in the marriage register to relieve his feelings.

Nov ye 30th 1742.

Adam alone could not be easy
So he must have a wife ant please ye
But how could he procure this wife
To cheer his solitary life
Why from a rib taen from his side
Was formed the necessary bride
But how did he the pain beguile
Pho he slept softly all the while
But when the rib was reappiled
In woman form to Adam's side
How then I pray you did it answer
He never slept so sweet again, sir.

W. H. JACOB.

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